

# **THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE**

---

**Merrill Andrea Norton**

Library of the  
Church Divinity School  
of the Pacific


---

No. 17577.....Class.....ZT N886.....

Ex Dono.....Author.....

Date.....1943.....





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2025 with funding from  
Graduate Theological Union

<https://archive.org/details/christologyofdid00unse>





THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE

compared with that of

The Early Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles

and other literature of the

New Testament and Sub-Apostolic Periods

By

Merrill Andrea Norton

B.A., University of California, 1937

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for degree of

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

in the

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

Berkeley, California

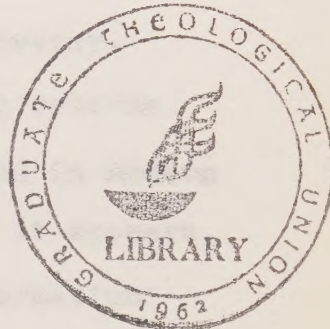
April, 1943

Approved:

Instructor

Dean

Filed:



Librarian



## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

During the nearly sixty years in which the Didache has been known to the world of patristic study, it has almost continuously held the spotlight of controversy. Without doubt, it is one of the most interesting records of the early Church which have been rediscovered in modern times. Because of its highly practical nature, it appears, at its face value, to furnish more detailed information about the Church of its time than any other document even approximately contemporary. The writings of the New Testament, for instance, contain many allusions to the contemporary practice of the Church, and some direct instructions. But these instructions were obviously intended primarily to supplement previously given oral instructions, and so their interpretation depends largely on what we read between the lines, and a person's preconceived theological background cannot help but play the leading role in the interpretation of these inferences. The same is also true of the epistles of St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp, and the other contemporary extra-canonical writings. But in this very nature of the Didache is to be found its greatest difficulty. From the other contemporary literature, even

# CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

During the nearly sixty years in which the Didache has been known to the world of patristic study, it has almost continuously held the spotlight of controversy. Without doubt, it is one of the most interesting records of the early Church which have been rediscovered in modern times. Because of its highly practical nature, it appears at its face value, to furnish more detailed information about the Church of its time than any other document even approximately contemporary. The writings of the New Testament, for instance, contain many allusions to the contemporary practice of the Church, and some direct instructions. But these instructions were obviously intended primarily to supplement previously given oral instructions, and so their interpretation depends largely on what we read between the lines, and a person's previous theological background cannot help but play the leading role in the interpretation of these inferences. The same is also true of the epistles of St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp, and the other contemporary extra-canonical writings. But in this very nature of the Didache is to be found its greatest difficulty. From the other contemporary literature, even

though in itself less specific and more casual in its allusions, we are able to piece together a fairly coherent, even though fragmentary, picture of the development of the internal life of the early Church. But into this picture, the Didache seems to fit, if at all, only with the greatest difficulty. Some of the practices and reflections of theological thought found in it seem extremely primitive for the range of dates most commonly assigned, which varies from a little before the beginning of the second century to a little later than the middle of that century. But there are other things which, especially according to the preconceived picture formed by some, seem to be of later origin. This situation, furthermore, has been anything but simplified by the obvious direct or indirect literary relationships which the Didache bears to other documents of the time, with whose thought forms it has very little in common. It is this elusive characteristic which has kept the Didache in the forefront of controversy.

There are many subjects for study in the Didache which are fascinating in the extreme. To mention only a few of the possibilities, these include its textual history and relation to other Early Christian documents, the question of its Jewish or Gentile background, and its teaching on Christology, Soteriology, the Eucharist, Baptism, the Ministry and Church Discipline. Every one of these subjects would necessarily involve questions over which lively controversy prevails.



However, a thesis like the present one must be limited in its scope, and so we must confine ourselves primarily to the one subject with which we are setting out to deal, namely, the Christology of the Didache. It will be necessary, indeed, to touch on other subjects incidentally, but only as they relate to the main subject. For instance, it will be necessary to give some attention to the provenance of the Didache and its relation to other Early Christian documents because of the unescapable connection which these have with the type of Christology which the Didache exhibits. But other subjects must, by the limitations imposed, be excluded entirely, however interesting they may be.



## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORY OF THE DIDACHE

The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles<sup>1</sup>, comes down to us in an eleventh century manuscript which had lain for centuries unappreciated and unobserved in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery in Constantinople. Its discoverer was Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, probably the outstanding scholar of the Greek Church during the later part of the last century. Like some of the other promising men of the Greek Church of his time, Bryennios had received part of his theological education in Germany, and his writings show him to be quite familiar with the contemporary German writers on textual criticism. He was also distinguished as a theologian, and as such was a representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Bonn Conference of Orthodox, Old Catholics, and Anglicans, held in 1875.

The Jerusalem Manuscript, as this manuscript is known, contains besides the Didache other patristic writings, genuine and spurious, to which its text has become a valuable witness; but the most notable of these was the

---

<sup>1</sup> Gr., Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων.



complete text of the First and Second Epistles of St. Clement of Rome, the first such complete text to be discovered. This latter became the first object of the Metropolitan Philotheos' labors, and the text of the two epistles was published by him in 1875.

The Didache was at last published by the Metropolitan in 1883<sup>1</sup>. As soon as this volume had made its appearance it was greeted by a veritable host of books and articles in scholarly journals. From the very first, these learned dissertations embodied all sorts of varying estimates of the document. Hilgenfeld<sup>2</sup> believed that the Didache exhibited Montanistic influence, as did Bryennios himself. Harnack<sup>3</sup> postulated its origin, at least as a Christian document, as Gentile and from Egypt, without attributing it to any particular sect. On the contrary, the majority of scholars postulated a Jewish Christian origin, though differing somewhat as to the exact place, time, and type

---

<sup>1</sup> Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδουμένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων... ὑπὸ Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας, ἐν Κωνσταντινπόλει, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum. Fasc. iv, ed. ii, aucta et emendata, Lipsiae, 1884, pp. 87-121.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts," in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, hrsg. v. O. von Gebhart und A. Harnack. Band II, Heft II, 1884 (July), Leipzig. Also, Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege, Leipzig, 1886.



of thought. This group includes Funk<sup>1</sup>, Schaff<sup>2</sup>, Spence<sup>3</sup>, Delitsch<sup>4</sup>, Volkmar<sup>5</sup>, Warfield<sup>6</sup>, Taylor<sup>7</sup>, Harris<sup>8</sup>, and many others. Krawutzoky<sup>9</sup> carried this point of view even farther, and maintained that the Didache sprang from an Ebionite source, or at least one of Ebionizing tendency. Sabatier<sup>10</sup> assigned an extremely early date to the Didache,

---

<sup>1</sup> Patres Apostolici (see bibliography), vol.I, p.XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (see bibl.), p.125.

<sup>3</sup> The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, London, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> Note on the "Holy Vine of David" in The Expositor (London and New York), Jan., 1886, pp. 68 and 69.

<sup>5</sup> Urchristliches Andachtsbuch. Die neu entdeckte urchristliche Schrift Lehre der zwölf Apostel an die Völker, Leipzig und Zurich, 1885.

<sup>6</sup> "The Sources and Contents of 'The Two Ways' or First Section of the Didache" in The Bibliotheca Sacra (Oberlin), Jan., 1886, pp. 100-161.

<sup>7</sup> The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with illustrations from the Talmud, Cambridge, 1886.

<sup>8</sup> The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books, Cambridge, 1885. Also The Teaching of the Apostles (ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ), newly edited, with fac-simile text and a commentary. Baltimore and London, 1887.

<sup>9</sup> "Ueber die sogenannte Zwölfapostellehre, ihre hauptsächlichsten Quellen, und ihre erste Aufnahme," in Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen, 1884, No. IV, pp. 547-606. Also, notice of personal letter in Schaff, op.cit., p. 300.

<sup>10</sup> "La Didache" in Église libre, 1884, nos. 11-18. Also, La Didache, ou l'enseignement des douze apôtres. Paris, 1885.



approximately A.D. 50, whereas in more recent times Bigg<sup>1</sup> and J. A. Robinson<sup>2</sup> went to the opposite extreme and assigned such a late date to the Didache as to render it a purely fictional romance, if their hypothesis is to be accepted.

## 2.

Before dealing further with the modern controversies about the Didache, however, we must trace briefly what we know about the Didache and its use in ancient times.

The first six chapters of the Didache are devoted to ethical instruction given under the figure of two ways, the way of life and the way of death. But it becomes immediately obvious that this section bears a striking parallel with the Epistle of Barnabas, chapters 18 to 20, although there are also equally striking divergences in the two. One of the most immediate effects of the publication of the Didache was to start a spirited argument as to the relation of these two parallel passages, whether that in the Didache was derived from Barnabas or was its source, or whether both passages were dependent on a common original, now lost.

There is at least one other striking parallel between the Didache and Barnabas outside of the Two Ways section, namely, in D.16:2:

---

<sup>1</sup> The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache, 1920.



πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς  
 πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε.

**This is to be compared with B.4:9b:**

διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν  
 γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς  
 πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε.

**There is one apparent parallel between the Didache and Hermas, with other more questionable ones sometimes alleged. This significant one involves D.1:5:**

παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι  
 γὰρ θέλει δίδασθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γαιοισμάτων·  
 μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἁθῶς γὰρ ἐστίν·  
 οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει  
 τις, ἁθῶς ἐστί· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην,  
 ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος  
 ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται  
 ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἐσχατον κοδράντην.

**With this is to be compared Mand.2:4b-6a:**

ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ  
 θεὸς δίδωσί σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς,  
 μὴ δισταζών, τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς· πᾶσι δίδου·  
 πᾶσι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρη-  
 μάτων· οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσι λόγον τῷ θεῷ,  
 διὰτὶ ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες  
 θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει  
 λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην· ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἁθῶς ἐστίν·  
 ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι,  
 ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσε, μηδὲν διακρίνων, τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ.

**However, as in the case with Barnabas, there is some question of the relative priority of the Didache and Hermas, and on the whole the answer is inconclusive. Therefore this parallelism cannot be adduced as an argument for the priority of the Didache.**

**A part of the Two Ways section of the Didache, or more probably a cognate document, has been incorporated almost**



verbatim into the Ecclesiastical Canons<sup>1</sup>, also known as the "Appostolical Church Order." The most important addition is a quite transparent one of dividing up the precepts and putting them into the mouths of different Apostles. The same device has also been used in the Ethiopic Church Order<sup>2</sup> and in Book VII of the Apostolic Constitutions<sup>3</sup>, but each has progressively more alterations and expansions in the subject matter. The version in the Apostolic Constitutions is notable, however, in having a section corresponding to D.1:3-2:1, whereas there is no such corresponding section in the parallel versions found in Barnabas, the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Ethiopic Church Order, or the Latin version of the Two Ways (Doctrina) of which two manuscripts have since been discovered, an incomplete one published by Von Gebhardt<sup>4</sup> in 1886, and a complete one published by Schlecht<sup>5</sup> in 1900. Also, AC has used the entire D, whereas in the other works, the correspondence is limited to the 2W section.

---

<sup>1</sup> For text of the parallel portion, see Schaff, op.cit., pp. 238-247.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, op.cit., pp. 249-257.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 259-287.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 219f.

<sup>5</sup> The principal divergences of its readings are cited in the critical apparatus of Funk, attached to his text of the Didache (v.sub loc.)



## 3.

There are several casual quotations of phrases found in the Didache in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, but all are open to some objection, and none can be adduced as a universally accepted proof of the knowledge and use of the Didache by the Fathers of this period. The instances to be cited are not exhaustive, but include the ones which commend themselves to the writer as worthy of notice.

There is a fragment of St. Irenaeus discovered by Pfaff<sup>1</sup> which contains the following<sup>2</sup>:

"Those who have followed the Second Ordinances of the Apostles know that the Lord has established a new offering in the New Covenant, according to Malachi the prophet."

The reference is obviously to Mal.1:11,14, which is quoted in D.14:3 in the same kind of context as mentioned here, namely, as referring to the Eucharistic sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. However, the genuineness of this fragment is not universally recognized<sup>3</sup>, and so the evidence cannot be considered conclusive.

There are two reminiscences of phrases from the Didache in the writings of St. Clement of Alexandria.

The first and most probable of these is Strom. I.20:

οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν·  
γίε, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς  
τὴν κλοπὴν.

---

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 36, Harvey. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is from Schaff, p. 115. I regret the Greek original was unavailable to me.

<sup>3</sup> E. g., Harnack, Die Apostellehre; also Muilenburg, p. 33, N. 2.



At first sight, this has all the ear marks of dependence on D.3:5a:

τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης. ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ  
τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν.

It is very possible indeed that Strom. I.20 is a quotation, if not from the Didache, at least from some other parallel version of the Two Ways<sup>1</sup>. However, there is this to be argued against it, that this is the only conclusive direct resemblance to the Didache found in Clement's writings, and furthermore, there is no conclusive resemblance to the Didache in the writings of Origen, who would certainly have been familiar with the writing if Clement was. Yet, whatever the work was which Clement quoted from, he obviously valued it highly enough to call it "Scripture" (γραφή)<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, it has been argued<sup>3</sup>, this quotation was taken not from the Didache, but from some lost

---

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastical Canons 11 has, "τέκνον, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν." The hypothesis is to be advanced later that the E.C. embodies a parallel and concurrent version of the 2W with that in D, and that in a large measure the common portions of the two come the nearest to the original 2W of anything we now possess. We must remember also that EC is an Egyptian document.

<sup>2</sup> Clement on the whole uses γραφή rather freely and loosely.

<sup>3</sup> So Muilenburg, p. 33f., citing also Robinson, Harnack, Gordon and Krawutzky. The latter's hypothesis would be consistent in the main with that advanced here.



apocryphal work, perhaps Jewish. However, in view of the conclusions to be justified later in this thesis, there is no reason why it could not be a quotation from one of the parallel versions of the Two Ways, perhaps the one underlying the Ecclesiastical Canons. (cf. p. 11, note 1)

The other alleged reference occurs in Quis Divus Salv. 29:

οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἐκχέας,  
which superficially resembles the reference, ὁπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας  
ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ in D. 9:2. However, the figure of the Vine  
of David was common in both Early Christian and Jewish  
circles, so in reality this reference proves nothing of  
any direct relationship between the Didache and the writings  
of St. Clement of Alexandria.

The same applies to the one alleged instance of  
quotation of the Didache on the part of Origen, which  
occurs in his Sixth Homily on the Book of Judges (In Libr.  
Jud., hom. vi, Migne, ed. 11, f. 975):

Antequam panis coelestis consequamur annonam  
et carnibus Agni immolati satiemur, antequam  
verae Vitis quae ascendit de radice David sanguine  
inebriemur, donec parvuli sumus et lacte alimur,  
et initiorum Christi sermonem tenemus, tamquam  
parvuli sub procuratoribus agimus et actoribus  
angelis.....

Not only is the Vine of David a common figure in the  
Jewish-Early Christian tradition, but in the quotation  
here cited it must refer to something different than in  
D. 9:2, since in the former it obviously refers to Christ,  
whereas in the latter it is something which is made known  
through Jesus.



## 4.

The first references to the Didache by name occur in the fourth century.

Eusebius of Caesarea, in his Historia Ecclesiae, treats of the Canon of Scripture and divides the books into three classes, the ἀπολογούμενα, or books generally received, the ἀντιλεγόμενα, or disputed books, and the νόμοι, which were rejected at least so far as claim to canonicity was concerned. In H. E. III, 25, he classes τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδάχαι along with ἡ φεβομένη βιβλία ἐπιστολῶν as belonging ἐν τοῖς νόμοις.

St. Athanasius, in his Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter (A.D. 367), includes the διδάχῃ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων among other books as

βιβλία οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον.

In other words, like the O. T. Apocrypha in the Thirty Nine Articles, they are classed as useful to be read but not to be used as a source of doctrine. St. Athanasius also mentions the Didache in his De Virginitate and his Syntagma Doctrinae.

Rufinus of Aquileia repeats St. Athanasius' general statement but substitutes the Duae Viae or Judicium secundum Petrum for the Didache. This has given rise to speculation whether he refers to the Didache by another name or whether this is the now lost original of the Two Ways section, or perhaps some other work, such as the



### Ecclesiastical Canons.

Anastasius of Sinai (d.599) gives us a list of apocryphal writings along with his Quaestiones. This list includes the ΠΕΡΙΛΑΒΗ τῶν ἀποστόλων along with Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή .

The last contemporary reference to the Didache which we may be reasonably sure was at first hand is that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, (d. 828) who lists among the apocryphal books, ἀποστόλων ,στίχοι σ' . It happens that this estimate of 200 lines corresponds with the 203 lines which the Didache occupies in the Jerusalem MS (H). However, some have used this very fact to cast doubt as to whether the Didache known to Nicephorus was the same as that appearing in the Jerusalem MS or a shorter work. It is argued<sup>1</sup> that the standard length of a stichos is determined approximately by the length of a line of hexameter verse, and that would be shorter than the length of the lines in H. For instance, Nicephorus fixes the combined length of the two epistles of St. Clement of Rome as 2600 stichoi, whereas these two epistles in H occupy a total of 1120 lines. According to this calculation, the version of D known to Nicephorus would occupy about 86 lines in H, whereas conversely, the version of D found in H would have to equal 455 stichoi according to Nicephorus' standards.

---

<sup>1</sup> Gordon, Modern Review, 1884, p. 455.

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

The last occasion of reference to the ...  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

## 5.

As can be judged from what has already been said, one of the most fundamental problems of the Didache is its "Two Ways" section (ch.1-6) and its interrelation with the parallel section of Barnabas (ch.18-20), as well as with portions of other documents.

To reduce matters to their simplest terms, even at the risk of possible oversimplification, we may roughly summarize the case as follows:

On one hand, the language of Barnabas is the more ornate, though also rather clumsy, as compared with the simple and generally straight forward language of the Didache. The thought of the Didache, also, is simple, almost naive, and it gives one the impression of having a very primitive ring about it, whereas the thought of Barnabas is full of abstraction and allegorizing. For these reasons, among others, many scholars were led to believe that the Didache was the pure original, and the parallel portions of Barnabas, the clumsy and self conscious imitation.

On the other hand, the Didache contains a section (1:3-2:1) to which there is no counterpart in Barnabas, nor in the Ecclesiastical Canons, nor in the more recently discovered Latin version, but only in the Apostolic Constitutions. Not only is there no reason apparent why anyone should wish to omit it, had they found it in the



archtype, but it is to be observed that this passage is distinctive in that it alone in D.1-6 contains direct quotations from the Gospels; and it has been argued that without it the Two Ways section contains nothing which is distinctively Christian, and might quite well be of Jewish origin. On this ground, among others, some argued that the Didache was a derivative, and Barnabas the source.

Bryennios, Hilgenfeld, and Harnack (according to his original opinion) were notable among those who maintained the priority of Barnabas, and the Didache's dependence on it in parallel passages.

On the other hand, Funk, Zahn, and Schaff, among others, stoutly championed the priority of the Didache.

Gradually, however, a feeling grew that neither the Didache's nor Barnabas' version of the Two Ways was original, but that both were derived from a lost original, which according to some was of Jewish origin, and, to others, Christian. Opinion also varied among the supporters of this view as to whether the version represented by the Didache, or that of Barnabas came closer to this original. Among the supporters of this view, in one form or another, were Holtzmann, Lipsius, Taylor, Warfield, Harris, McGiffert, Salmon, and others. Even Harnack revised his view into a form of this general theory.

Upon the publication of Von Gebhardt's fragment of the Latin version, even more support was given to the



theory of a common source, and some affirmed that the Latin version came closest to this of any of the existing versions. While not unanimously so, it seems that the theory of a common source became the most generally accepted theory as to the relation of the 2W sections in D and B.

## 6.

In 1926, Prof. James Muilenburg attempted, in a thesis<sup>1</sup> submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University, to reopen the question of the relation of the Didache and Barnabas with a detailed reexamination of the literary evidence bearing on the case. Without doubt, this thesis is a thorough going and painstaking piece of scholarly work<sup>2</sup>, and on the face of it, it might well have been hoped that this detailed study would provide a final answer, which would serve once for all to quiet the controversy which, at that time, had been raging for over forty years among the students of the history and literature of the primitive Christian Church. It is to be regretted, however, that Prof. Muilenburg restricted his researches almost exclusively to the literary evidence, since mere literary dependence cannot so easily be divorced from the thought forms which the outward language suggests. If a writer is so familiar with another's work

---

<sup>1</sup> The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (see Bibl.).

<sup>2</sup> It is unfortunate that the Greek words and texts have been inadequately proof read, so that many mistakes appear, some being of breathings and accents, and others still more serious.



that it influences his language, either by deliberate though "silent" quotations or by mere subconscious influence, the thoughts which he expresses are almost certain also to be influenced in some degree, whether positively, so that the writer's ideas tend to approximate those of the source, or negatively, so that he reacts against his source and uses polemical methods to show his disapproval.

Briefly, Prof. Muilenburg's conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. The Two Ways passage is the original work of Barnabas. Theories that B.18-20, or 21, are interpolations are rejected. Barnabas is maintained as the work of a Christian Jew who as a result of his conversion became violently anti-Jewish in his sentiments.
2. All theories of a lost common source for the parallel material in Barnabas and the Didache are rejected.
3. The other passages in the Didache, outside of Chs.1-6, which parallel Barnabas are derived from the latter. Likewise, the Didache is secondarily to Heras, and the passages parallel to the latter are derived from it.
4. The Latin version is the least ancient of all, being but a homiletical adaptation of the Didache, revised to conform more nearly with B.18-20. Furthermore, though the Didache is definitely a compilation, it is all the work of one compiler. There is no evidence of a short form of the Didache which underlay the form exhibited in H.

#### 7.

In spite of the apparently promising nature of Muilenburg's thesis, it did not serve to put an end to the perennial argument. As late as 1942, Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed affirms, "The primitive Greek Didache



reflected in the Latin form of chapters 1-6 found by Schlecht was the source of Barnabas and the Didache."<sup>1</sup>

We must conclude, therefore, that up to the present day there is no such thing as a generally accepted theory of the relation of the Didache to Barnabas and the other documents which contain parallels. Perhaps it may appear on first sight that this is a purely abstract question with little direct bearing on anything else. But much to the contrary, it is fundamental to almost every other question, since it is inextricably related to the question of the provenance of the Didache, and the matter of provenance must be taken into consideration in any thorough going investigation into any aspect of the Didache's teaching. Take the subject of Christology, for instance:- The Epistle of Barnabas stands in the same general line of teaching as the epistles of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. It has the same high type of Christology and the same minimizing estimate of the Jewish Law. But, as we shall see presently, there is evidence which links the Didache with a very different type of tradition. If, therefore, it be true that the Didache is directly dependent on Barnabas, it would be necessary to explain these paradoxical facts. And so, since none of the theories of the relation of the Didache to Barnabas seems to rest on such a firm foundation as to render it uncontrovertable, it will be necessary for us to make some

---

<sup>1</sup> A History of Early Christian Literature, p. 169.



preliminary investigations of our own into this subject  
as a groundwork for what is to follow.



## CHAPTER III

## WHAT IS THE DIDACHE?

Before proceeding to suggest any solution to the problems of the literary relation of the Didache with other documents containing parallel passages, we would do well at the outset to lay down some basic principles as to the general nature of the Didache. All of these should be fairly obvious. Some of them indeed, should appear axiomatic upon a reasonably close examination of the Didache; others will require some proof.

## 1.

The Didache as it stands is obviously intended as a manual of general Church order. The Two Ways section (chaps.1-60, whatever its original purpose may have been, is placed here as a form of catechetical instruction. This is clearly indicated by the words of 7:1, ταῦτα πάντα ἐποποιήσατε, συντίθεσθε. Chaps. 7-15 are devoted to specific instructions regarding Church order. Ch. 7 deals with the administration of Baptism, and the liturgical form to be employed. Ch. 8 deals with the life of private devotions as embodied in prayer and fasting. Chs. 9 and 10 deal with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist including what are apparently detailed instructions as to the liturgical form to be employed. Chs. 11 and 12



deal with the reception and proving of itinerant Prophets and of strangers generally. Ch. 13 deals with the case of such an itinerant Prophet who is received as a resident Bishop. Ch. 14 deals with the weekly celebration of the Eucharist on Sundays and the discipline to be observed to avoid its profanation by those who would participate unworthily. Ch. 15 deals with the election ( *yeipetovai* ) of Bishops and Deacons<sup>1</sup>, and further directions regarding discipline. Finally, Ch. 16 is devoted to eschatological teaching, with an exhortation to stand fast in the Last Days.

## 2.

From all appearances, the Didache makes no claim to originality, but is a collection of existing sources, put together with occasional comments or glosses of his own. This is borne out by the obvious literary relationships to other documents found in the Two Ways section, the great number of Gospel quotations found, the fact that most of the precepts have parallels in other writings so that even if there is no direct interrelation they must have had their common origin in oral sayings which were commonly known, and, last but not least, the fact that the whole

---

<sup>1</sup> It is quite significant, in view of the detailed liturgical forms given for Baptism and the Eucharist, that no instruction is given as to the form to be used in ordaining. Yet there is ample evidence in the N.T. that Ordination was performed through prayer and the laying on of hands (e.g., Ac.6:6; 13:3; I Tim.4:14; II Tim. 1:6.) From this we may infer that the actual ordination did not pertain to the local congregation, but to others outside who presumably held an Order at least equivalent to that which they were to confer.



writing lacks the fervor of something which is springing directly out of the heart and the originality of the writer.

Judging by the title (and everything else is in keeping with this) the contents of the Didache were believed to come from Apostolic authority, but it is not attributed to any particular Apostle, but only to the Twelve. By inference, however, this excludes St. Paul. Certainly, by the way in which he subordinates his own personality, the compiler makes no claim to apostolic authority for himself. We may also make the further inference that there was no one contemporary at the time and place of the Didache's origin who was deemed to possess an authority equal to that of the Twelve Apostles. Otherwise, the tendency would have been to hang on the words of the Apostle or Apostles which were among them, rather than to appeal more vaguely to the Twelve. By the same token, the Didache did not originate in a place which, by the circumstances of its evangelization or otherwise, had any reason to look upon one or more individuals among the Apostles as its own.

Without much doubt, the precepts and forms contained in the Didache were those which prevailed in the Church where it originated, and so were regarded as tried and true. These may very well have been adapted so as to make them practical in the religious community or communities for which the work was intended. Presumably this Church in which the Didache originated was one which was well



established and steeped in the older Christian tradition, whereas the communities for which the work was intended were relatively young and unsettled, or for some other reason was deemed to be in need of some sort of a check list of correct Church order.

### 3.

The Didache is, in general, non-controversial in purpose. Although there are words directed against heathenism, against false prophets who followed that calling for love of gain, and against those whose deeds were inconsistent with their Christian profession, there is not a word which has any direct bearing against any other type of professedly Christian teaching. This fact is very important. Either the compiler of the Didache was not aware of any other types of professedly Christian tradition because he had not encountered them or read their writings; or he was so naive that he did not appreciate their difference from the point of view which he represented; or he willfully chose to ignore them because he did not consider them important, or for some other reason. Otherwise he would have been sure to include warnings against them. But if he had been too naive to realize the contradiction of these other points of view with his own, he would have been likely to incorporate some of their expressions in his own work, with the result that the Didache would contain more contradictions



than it does. As it is, the only apparent contradiction to its line of Christological teaching, for instance, is the use of the Trinitarian Formula, which will be discussed later. And so the most probable conclusion is that he was unaware of any divergent types of Christian teaching, or did not consider those divergences great enough or important enough to take notice of.

#### 4.

By title, and apparently by context, the Didache is intended for Gentiles, or at the least, for Jews who had ceased to observe the Mosaic Law.

#### 5.

There are many indications which make it apparent that the source of the Didache is Jewish-Christian.

There have been some who have believed differently, but this has been conceded by the majority of scholars, both of the earlier generation and of the present time. The following are the most notable evidences of this fact:

a. The Didache is completely lacking in any demonstrable Pauline influence. A number of instances of possible connection have been cited; but in each of these, upon due examination, the connection proves to be so remote and tenuous as to be quite inconclusive. In many of these cases, the apparent connection hinges on something which is more easily explained in terms of the common Jewish and Gospel Tradition which was behind both St. Paul and his



more conservative Jewish-Christian bretheren. To the inconclusiveness of these alleged instances of literary reminiscence is to be added the absolute dissimilarity in the theological views of St. Paul and the Didache, of which more is to be said later. A full discussion of the supposed literary reminiscences of St. Paul in the Didache is given by Dr. Albert E. Barnett in his recent work<sup>1</sup>.

It is interesting to note that even Harnack, who is one of those who postulated a Gentile Christian redactor for the Didache, admitted that there are no provable instances of Pauline influence contained in it.

b. The Didache is likewise lacking of any Johannine influence. This is perhaps a more controversial statement than the preceding, but it is nevertheless quite apparent.

The most commonly urged parallel is the reference to the "Vine of David" in D.9:2 which is compared to the reference to the Vine in J.15. Yet the latter figure is so developed in its mystical significance as to make it very doubtful if the simple and undeveloped figure in D.9:2 could be derived from it. Besides, the Vine in J.15 obviously refers to Christ Himself, whereas the "Vine of David" in D.9:2 is "made known through Jesus." That makes the identity of the images seem unlikely. In view of these considerations<sup>2</sup>, it is the simpler solution to suppose

---

<sup>1</sup> Paul Becomes a Literary Influence, pp.207-212.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller discussion of the "Vine of David" is to follow below in section X.



that both of these figures are derived from their common Jewish background.

The other alleged parallels<sup>1</sup> are even more strained, and at the best depend on a mere coincidence. The following seem alone even to merit consideration:

- (1) D.10:2, cf. J.15:15 (The parallelism apparently hinges on the use of γυνή .)

But equally good or better parallels are the following:

Ps.12(16):11 (LXX), quoted also in Ac.2:38,  
 Ps.24(25):4 " ,  
 Ps.97(98):2 " , etc.

- (2) D.10:12, cf. J1:14 (use of σκηνώ and κατασκηνώ ).

But see also:

Jer. 7:12 (LXX)

II Esdr. (Ezra) 6:12 (LXX)

- (3) D.10:3, cf. J.6:27, 32f, 58.

There is possibly a certain (but at any rate not conclusive) similarity of ideas expressed, but there is no verbal agreement. Certainly this is not enough to prove the dependence of D on J.

c. The Didache exhibits a peculiarly low form of Christology, whose counterparts in Early Christian literature are few, and these of a recognized Jewish cast<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, the Didache also coincides with these in its correspondingly strong ethical emphasis.

d. The Didache contains a large number of Gospel quotations, the vast majority of which are from the Gospel of St. Matthew. The others vere over to the wording of St. Luke

---

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these instances, see Muilenburg, op.cit., p. 75, also pp. 82, 94.

<sup>2</sup> This point is inserted here for the sake of completeness, as it will be discussed in detail later as the principal subject of this thesis.



but these are always in passages where St. Matthew and St. Luke are parallel. It is possible, therefore, that the Didache may be retaining the words of the lost Logia, or "Q", in places where St. Luke has preserved the original better than Matthew. Harnack conjectures that the quotations are taken from the lost "Gospel according to the Egyptians," and Krawutzcky, from the Gospel according to the Hebrews." However the elaborated and apocryphal nature of the extant fragments of these gospels would seem to make these two hypotheses more than doubtful<sup>1</sup>.

e. Besides the foregoing, there is a number of more incidental references which, if not individually, at least as a whole, tends to suggest Jewish origin. Among these are:

(1) "The whole yoke of the Lord" (D.6:2). This is an obscure reference with several conflicting interpretations, each of which, however, suggests Jewish origin. They are:

(a) "Yoke" - the Mosaic Law (cf. Ac.15:10). This is suggested by Schaff and Gore. Besides the parallel just cited it may be argued for this interpretation that it would be quite in keeping with what we might expect from Jewish (and moderately Judaizing) Christians, especially in view of the sentiment expressed in Ac.21:20, 25. In that case ὁ δούλη would refer to the code just enunciated in chs. 1-5. However, this interpretation is open to the objections that there has been no mention up to this point of any obligation to keep the Jewish Law, and that κύριος could refer with more gramatical logic to ταύτης τῆς διδαχῆς (6:1).

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goodspeed, op.cit., Chap. IV.



(b) "Yoke" - the teaching already given,  
~~ταύτης τῆς διδασκῆς~~. This view is supported by Funk. In favor of this we must consider that Christ Himself refers to His Way as a "yoke," Mt. 11:29f. Furthermore, this would be in keeping with Jewish thought which tended to interpret Christ's moral precepts as a New Law or "yoke." Thus, "yoke" would mean the moral teachings of Christ which are embodied in this "New Law" and summarized in D.1-5. However, there is a potential objection to this interpretation, also:-If this interpretation is accepted, would not verse 2<sup>b</sup> constitute a contradiction of verse 1, by encouraging one to be satisfied with attaining less than the standard already laid down?

(c) Another possibility is that "The whole yoke" might refer to the voluntary poverty practiced by the Jerusalem Church, and by other bodies of Jewish Christians. Some plausibility might be lent to this suggestion by the great amount of stress on charity contained in the Didache, and the implied condemnation of property in 4:8, and of wealth in numerous places.

(d) Harnack interprets the "Yoke of the Lord" as referring to voluntary celibacy. However there is nothing in the context or elsewhere in the Didache to justify such an idea. Furthermore, it was completely out of keeping with Jewish ideals.

(2) The absolute prohibition of meats sacrificed to idols (6:3). This is in keeping with the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem (Ac. 15:29). Furthermore the distinct horror of ~~αἰσχροφάγος~~ is in keeping with general Jewish sentiment. At the same time we must notice that the sentiment here expressed is not fully in keeping with the Pauline sentiment which would be more likely to influence Gentile Christianity, viz., that which would place the intention and the effect on conscience above the outward act. (e.g., Rom. 13:13-23; I Cor. 8; 10:25-33).

(3) The extreme emphasis which is laid on charity and consideration for the poor (1:5; 4:5-7;



5:2j,k,o) and the corresponding evidence of antipathy toward the rich and powerful (3:9; 5:2<sup>q,r</sup>). For evidence of the Jewish character of this type of emphasis, see Gal.2:10; also Jas. 1:9f.; 2:1-9; 5:1-6; Ecclus. 3:30; 4:31; Tob. 4:8-12; Test. XII Patriarch., Zabulon 8 (as cited by Schaff, p. 176, n.6).

- (4) The apparent approval of community of goods (4:8). This was one of the distinguishing features of the practice of the Jerusalem Church (cf. Ac.4:32, etc.)
- (5) The commandment concerning First Fruits (13:3-7). The fact that this commandment from the Mosaic Law is applied with the one modification of substituting the prophets for the Levitical Priesthood plainly implies that in the main, at least, the Law is still considered binding.
- (6) The obvious condemnation of the Pharisees (8:1-2<sup>a</sup>). Yet this cannot be taken as a condemnation of Judaism in general. There is no condemnation of keeping the Sabbath along with the Lord's Day, as the Jewish Christians in fact did do. (Cf. Ign. Ep. ad Magn. 9:1). Evidence also exists that the Jews tended to substitute fasting for sacrifice after the destruction of the Temple<sup>1</sup>. The command to pray thrice daily is also in keeping with Jewish usage (cf. Ps.55:17; Dan. 6:10, 13; also Ac. 2:15; 3:1; 10:9, 30).
- (7) It is interesting to note the connections of Jesus' Messiahship with His being Son of David, as implied in 9:2 (also in 10:6 if the emendation *υἱοῦ* for *δαυιδ* be accepted), especially in view of the strongly contrasting sentiment expressed by Barnabas in B.12:10f.
- (8) For the similarity of the Two Ways section to Jewish manuals, and other evidence, see Muilenburg, op.cit., pp. 102ff.

#### 6.

Although all the cumulative evidence just presented seems to establish quite indisputably the Jewish origin of

---

<sup>1</sup> Muilenburg, op.cit., p. 105, n.4.



the Didache, there is nothing which would justify the accusation that it is an Ebionite work, since in no place does it suggest that circumcision or conformity to the Mosaic Law are binding on the Gentile Christians.



## CHAPTER IV

A SUGGESTED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE  
LITERARY RELATIONS OF THE DIDACHE

As we proceed toward our solution of the problem of the literary relations of the Didache to other documents, we shall find ourselves compelled for reasons, some of which are to follow, to reject the hypothesis that the Didache is dependent on Barnabas in the Two Ways section or elsewhere. Since the thesis of Professor Muilenburg, already referred to, is the latest work supporting this hypothesis which has come to our attention, and since, in our opinion, it presents the most cogent arguments which have been advanced for that position, it will be necessary to examine them in greater detail. Indeed it is unfortunate that a fully detailed study of them could not be made at this time, but due to the limitations imposed by the fact that this subject is for us only a stopping place in a further quest, we shall have to be contented to pick out what seem to us to be the most basic arguments, and to use them as examples.

## 1.

To begin with, we must say that there are many points which Professor Muilenburg has made in his careful and scholarly work in which we feel ourselves quite in agreement.



In the first place, we feel quite satisfied, after reading Professor Muilenburg's arguments, that B.18-20 and 21 are not later interpolations, but that the whole of the Epistle, in the form in which it now stands, represents the work of the original author. Furthermore, it seems that it has been thoroughly demonstrated that Barnabas exhibits so much Judaistic influence that we must conclude that it is the work of a Christian Jew and not a Gentile.

Again, we are in full agreement after studying the evidences which Professor Muilenburg has adduced that the Latin version of the Two Ways, as exhibited in the texts of Von Gebhardt and Schlecht, is not the most primitive extant version of this treatise. Furthermore, there is at least a good case for maintaining, as Muilenburg does, that it is a comparatively late version which has been deliberately adapted to conform more closely with Barnabas. However, there still remains the possibility that it represents one of several early parallel versions of the Two Ways, and that Barnabas drew from it for some of his imagery.

Finally, it seems to be established without any doubt whatsoever that the Didache is, on its own face value, a compendium of existing materials, which makes no claim to originality. However, we may go beyond this to say that in our mind many of the theories of the Didache's derivation are so elaborate in their hypotheses as to the method by



which its compiler derived and reedited his sources, that in effect they credit him with too much originality.

## 2.

We feel extreme regret that we are not able to go on in our agreement with Professor Muilenburg into accepting his main thesis. However we are bound by honesty to take the opposite position. In our humble opinion, the case for the dependence of the Didache upon Barnabas has not been proved.

One of the strongest points of Muilenburg's argument for the dependence of the Didache upon Barnabas seems to be the literary unity of Barnabas. As has already been stated, we fully concede that point. However, just because Barnabas as it now stands is a literary unity bearing the impress of a single writer, it does not follow that all the material contained in it is original with him. On the contrary, all the criteria bearing on the subject point to the conclusion that the author of Barnabas worked the subject matter of the Two Ways over in a manner analogous to that in which he worked over the Old Testament quotations which he uses.

Another strong point in Muilenburg's argument seems to be the lack of early external evidence authenticating the Didache, and especially the untrustworthiness of the alleged quotations in St. Clement of Alexandria. However, it would seem that, as a matter of fact, this silence



proves very little. If, as there is good reason to believe, the Didache originated in some obscure corner of Palestine or Syria, in a Jewish Christian community which was already falling behind the main stream of Christian Tradition, it is hardly to be wondered at if it had not come to the attention of Clement; in fact, it would be more remarkable if at this early time it had invaded the Alexandrian stream of thought enough to be classed as "Scripture."

### 3.

But if the strongest points of Professor Muilenburg's fall short of the mark of establishing the dependence of the Didache upon Barnabas, we cannot help but feel that there are other arguments of his which are faulty in their premise as well as in the conclusions which are sought to be drawn from them.

There is a strong implication running through many of Muilenburg's arguments that the presence of numerous Gospel quotations in the Didache is a proof of its lateness. But that would be true only if it were attempted to place the Didache earlier than any of the Gospels became current, and that is something that few indeed would attempt to do<sup>1</sup>. Certainly the great majority of those who have argued for the priority of the Didache over

---

<sup>1</sup> The only exception which I am aware is Sabatier.



Barnabas still placed it later than the time of St. Matthew's Gospel. But even if it were attempted to place the Didache earlier than the time when our canonical Gospels became current, the presence of Gospel quotations would still not constitute any conclusive evidence to the contrary, since by any theory of the origin of the Gospels, the vast majority of sayings attributed therein to our Lord must have been already current in oral form, if not written.

Another faulty premise lies in Muilenburg's assumption that the Didache's simplicity of style is the result of the consciously artful redaction of more diffusely worded documents. He says, for instance, of the relation between D.1:1 and B.18:1f.:

"The compiler of the Teaching adapts Barnabas 18 to the gospel setting.....He is not interested in Barnabas' extensive figure.....Moreover, an extensive figure has no place in a compendium. It does not contribute to the end in view: to provide the catechumen or church member with a brief, concise, and simple manual. He proceeds at once to select what is germane to his purpose."<sup>1</sup>

The whole context of Muilenburg's work makes it plain that this is typical of his view of the Didache's simplicity throughout. He considers it a deliberate and studied attempt to condense and rearrange the materials at hand so as to give them a concise form analogous to that which we would expect from a modern text book.

---

<sup>1</sup> Op.cit., p. 141.



Now it is true that there is a certain difference in the style and method of an epistle and that of a manual. Yet we must not fall into the error of supposing that the same methods would govern the writing of an ancient manual as those which would govern the writing of a modern handbook. Indeed, a broad view of the Didache should make it plain that it was not intended, in the first instance, for the catechumen or the individual church member. It is directed primarily to the congregation as a whole and to those whose business it was to conduct the affairs of the congregation, to guide its policies, and to provide for its services. The Two Ways section is inserted as a guide to the Church corporately as to how it should instruct its catechumens. That is a necessary part of the life of every Church, just as much as the administration of Baptism or the celebration of the Eucharist or the choice of its pastors. But, on the other hand, it is not likely that it would be said to a catechumen, " ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίζετε ", nor that detailed instructions about the form and ceremonial of Baptism and the Eucharist, or the procedure for the proving of itinerant prophets, or the command to elect Bishops and Deacons should be impressed upon him with so much care right at the start. As a matter of fact, the Didache is the first of a series of compendiums of general Church order, in which the Ecclesiastical Canons and the Apostolic Constitutions,



among other works, were to follow. And the reason for Didache's simplicity lies primarily in the fact that the Church order which it describes is also relatively simple.

We must remember, moreover, that the age of the Didache was not one which in general was inclined to consider literary simplicity as a virtue which was consciously to be cultivated. In secular literature this was not a classic age, but one in which studied ornateness and artificiality were generally considered objects to strive for. And the same thing also held true in the literature of the Jewish and Christian traditions. When the work of another was deliberately and openly being made use of, the tendency was to take the passage desired, which was indeed selected according to the purposes of the writer, and elaborate on it. The Jewish Targums are one case in point. But we can see it also in the Christian manuals which followed the Didache. Each incorporated material from its predecessor but each shows its elaborations in the parallel passages.

But the greatest danger lies in propounding theories to explain the alleged redaction which are so complicated that perforce they make the compiler of the Didache nothing less than an expert and mathematically minded literary critic comparable with a modern philological scholar, when, as a matter of fact, all the internal evidence indicates that he was a man who was practical, indeed,



but showing no signs of exceptional brilliance. The Gospel quotations are inserted with no real attempt at elaborating on them; the regulations regarding Church order seem on their face value to be little if anything more than a simple repetition of the existing rules in the compiler's home Church; we have every reason to believe that there are many other materials quoted from unknown sources: Why then, if the compiler was using materials from Barnabas, should he not have used the desired passages openly in a form resembling that in which he found them, instead of so elaborately disguising them?

We concede fully the point that Barnabas' heavy and over ornate style is largely a result of his literary inexperience and incompetence; yet granting, for the sake of argument, that the compiler of the Didache would have wished to reedit and improve on Barnabas' style in passages which he borrowed from the latter, there is no evidence that the language exhibited in the Didache would be the logical and natural way to accomplish this.

For instance, Muilenburg argues<sup>1</sup> that the compiler of the Didache saw fit to change Barnabas' figure of the ways of light and darkness into the ways of life and death because he wished to adapt the figure to the words of Mt. 7:13f., and also to Jer. 21:8, and Deut. 30:15. At the same time, Muilenburg argues, as against Taylor, that

---

<sup>1</sup> Op.cit., p. 141. The passage has already been quoted (p. 21) in another connection.



the figure of life and death is not simpler. But if D<sup>1</sup> found the figure of the ways of light and darkness in B, why should he wish to change it? We maintain that although Mt. 7:13f., Jer. 21:8, and Deut. 30:15 might easily have furnished the impetus which gave origin to the figure on which the 2W is based, the import of these passages is not so strong or obvious as to induce a redactor who found a figure of the contrast of "light" and "darkness" to change it to "life" and "death." Besides, the use of light and darkness to symbolize good and evil, life and death, etc., would not seem strange or needful of amplification to one who was acquainted with the Hebrew tradition. Cf., inter alia, Job 18:18; 24:13; 29:3; Ps. 27:1; 36:9; 43:3; 107:10; 119:105; Prov. 6:23; Isa. 5:20; 9:2; Jer. 13:16; also Mt. 6:23; 8:12; 22:13; 25:30. But on the other hand, the use of "light" and "darkness" in the figure does offer greater allegorical possibilities to one who was as interested in allegory as Barnabas was. Of course, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that there might have been a version intermediate between the archetype of D and B, similar to

---

<sup>1</sup> From here on we shall frequently use the symbol D not only in citing references from the Didache, but for the work itself and for its compiler. Likewise, B will be used for the Epistle of Barnabas and for its author. 2W will be used as a symbol to denote the Two Ways, either in its hypothetical original form, or as exhibited in the Didache, Barnabas, or the several other documents where it is to be found.



the Latin Version with "light" and "darkness" standing side by side with "life" and "death." But at any rate, there is one definite suggestion, found in B. 19:2e, that the version of the 2W known to B had "life" and "death," and that B here unconsciously drifts back into the original phraseology.

Again, Muilenburg argues<sup>1</sup> that D has left out B's figure of the companies of angels placed over the two ways because it has no place in such a compendium and because it is inconsistent with the change from "light" and "darkness" to "life" and "death." But we are unable to see the point of either of these arguments. Why should a popular figure of angels be inappropriate in a catechetical instruction? And why should not the figure of an angel of life and an angel of death be just as appropriate as that of an angel of light and an angel of darkness? It would seem that there is no reason why the references to angels should be left out, if D found them in his archetype, unless he disapproved of angelology. However, belief in angels seems to have been generally held among Jews (except those of the Saducean tradition), and apparently also, among all early Christians.

Muilenburg cites<sup>2</sup> the parallelism between B. 19:2 and Ecclus. 7:30f. to bolster his contention that the text

---

<sup>1</sup> Op.cit., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Op.cit., p. 143.



of B. 19:2 is superior to the corresponding section of D. 1:2. D has, *πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν*. B has *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου*. Ecclus. 7:30, 31 reads (according to the LXX), *ἐν ὅλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάσῃς τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς. φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον καὶ δόξασον ἱερέα, καὶ δὸς τὴν μερίδα αὐτῷ καθὼς ἐντέταλταί σοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* ..... Now the parallelism between B. 19:2 and Ecclus. 7:30 f. is so artificial and strained that it seems very doubtful if anyone would have set out deliberately in the first instance to paraphrase Ecclus. 7:30f. in this manner. It seems more probable that the words already in 2W, *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν [θεὸν τὸν] ποιήσαντά σε*, which is a very easy paraphrase of the sense of Mt. 22:37 and Deut. 6:5, suggested to B the similarity to Ecclus. 7:30a, with the result that he attempted to fill in a further though forced parallel on the basis of v. 31a in his typical free style of Scripture quotation<sup>1</sup>.

As we go through Muilenburg's arguments<sup>2</sup> for the

---

<sup>1</sup> We can see an intermediate stage of a general process in this direction in EC. 4 which inserts *δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου* after *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε [ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου]* and before *δεύτερον ... τὸν πλησίον, κ.τ.λ.* It is to be noted that EC usually agrees with D against B except for the omission of D.1:3-2:1.

<sup>2</sup> Especially, Ch. VIII, passim.



priority of B over D we find the underlying supposition that D has systematically set out to rearrange and regroup the multitudinous precepts of B. 19. On p. 157f., for instance, he says:

"The ill arrangement of the precepts is to be explained as representative of Barnabas' literary style, while the superior arrangement of the Teaching is also to be explained by the compiler's style throughout. The Epistle of Barnabas is in the careless and hasty manner of a letter writer moved by enthusiasms and easily carried away into degenerations. The Teaching, on the other hand, bears the stamp of a writer who has compiled and ordered his materials into as effective and helpful an arrangement as possible. What is of little concern and importance to one is of central significance to the other. A letter may be hurried and written in the heat of inspiration; a church manual requires the more sober mind to control its materials and reduce them to systematic arrangement."

However, we must remember that though many of the commands and prohibitions of D. 2-5 do coincide with ones in B.19,20, the order of arrangement is absolutely different. The result is that any theory which seeks to derive this portion of D from the corresponding section in B becomes so thoroughly complicated and involved that it becomes a serious tax on our credulity. In fact, we might well believe that to accomplish this feat with the thoroughgoing system which Muilenburg imputes to D, a card index of all the virtues and vices of B. 19, 20, or some other equally meticulous system would be required. And although it is true that D is a compilation, and that it lacks the original fervor (and also the self-consciousness) of B,



there is no suggestion, as we read it through, that it is the product of such meticulous, detailed labor as is imputed by this theory. On the other hand, the occasional and disconnected similarities which B bears to D could much more easily be explained on the basis of B remembering occasional phrases from his version of 2W which he wrote down in his typical free style as they occurred to him.

Instead, therefore, of Muilenburg's complicated hypothesis, a much simpler one, and more in keeping with D's use of other materials, would be to assume that D copied his source almost verbatim, certainly without any complex rearrangement. To do otherwise is to attribute to D more originality than the evidence justifies. On the other hand, B's free and easy method of incorporating sources, as amply witnessed by his method of quoting Old Testament Scripture, probably from memory, can easily explain most of the peculiarities of his version of the 2W, as opposed to D's.

#### 4.

There is one aspect of the evidence which unfortunately seems to be completely ignored by Muilenburg, and that is the great dissimilarity of the viewpoints of D and B, especially with respect to matters of doctrine and to the question of the merits of Judaism. B, for instance, holds a high Christology which places him in the general



tradition of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>1</sup>; D, on the other hand, maintains an extremely undeveloped Christology whose implication is as low as it can be without teaching out and out Unitarianism. B, again, although he believes implicitly in the verbal inspiration of Old Testament Scripture, teaches that the Jewish nation of his time has been cast off by God, and that their religion is little more than a caricature of the Revelation on which it claims to be founded; D, on the other hand, presents Christianity as continuous with Judaism, and its culmination, as Jesus was its Messiah. And yet in reality this tremendous gulf between the thought of D and of B is a most powerful argument which precludes the dependence of D on B. If D were dependent literarily upon B, in view of this conflict of thought, he could hardly help but react with some polemic against B's anti-Judaism. But as a matter of fact, D's presentation of Judaistic Christianity is quite non-controversial.

A final consideration is that although B. 18-20 shows the same literary characteristics as B. 1-17, and so is stamped as being in its present form a work of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The evidences of B's high Christology are so many that they should be obvious on a casual reading of the Epistle. However, the following may be cited as notable examples: As to belief in the Atonement through Christ's Death, cf. B. 5:1; For B's belief in Christ's Preexistence, cf. 5:5f.; For his belief that Jesus is the Son of God, cf. 5:9; 7:2, 9; 12:10f.; etc.



same author, the transition is still so abrupt and forced as to suggest that B deliberately went out of his way to bring in another source which for some reason he was particularly anxious to make use of.

## 5.

In concluding our discussion of the relation of D.1-6 and B. 18-20, we would submit our own hypothesis of the 2W problem. We do not claim that it rests on absolute proof, any more than any other of the theories covering the aspects of this problem can be either absolutely proved or disproved, with our present state of knowledge of the objective factors bearing on the situation. But at the same time, we believe that this hypothesis is consistent with the known facts, and meets the basic test of probability:-

The Two Ways was probably a common method of instruction during the first and second centuries, and was of either Jewish or Jewish Christian origin. It is very likely that originally it was circulated as an oral tradition. In this form it probably took on different variations in different localities, and at least some of these parallel versions were doubtless reduced to writing. Each of these versions doubtless had its distinctive features. At least one of these versions contained the so-called "Christian interpolation" which corresponds to D. 1:3-2:1. Another version contained the demonology



which is found in Ecclesiastical Canons 7, 8. Still another version, or versions, probably had "light" and "darkness" either alongside of instead of "life" and "death," and also added the references to the angelic guides found in Doctrina 1:1 and B. 18:1. The first of these types, or a further variation of it, became an accepted and established form of catechetical instruction in the Church in which the Didache originated, and so was incorporated almost verbatim into the extant version of the Didache as an example for catechetical instruction in other Churches. The Didache, in turn later became the basis of Book VII of the Apostolic Constitutions. The second of these versions here mentioned was divided up and put into the mouths of various of the Apostles, along with other additions, and so was incorporated into the Ecclesiastical Canons. A version in the general type of the third of these described here was doubtless known to Barnabas, and by him quoted from memory and at random, in his characteristic style, adding, subtracting, or altering as it suited his purposes.

The Doctrina, or Latin version of the Two Ways may either have originated from another of these parallel versions of the Two Ways, of a type at least approaching the one known to Barnabas, which, in turn, underwent further modification as a Latin homily; or it may have been a version of the Two Ways later altered with a view to



closer conformity with B. 18, 19. If we add the proviso that it was the Two Way section of the Didache which was so altered, this latter is substantially Muilenburg's view. Personally, however, I tend to incline toward the first possibility, because there are a number of expressions without counterpart in either the Didache or Barnabas. Notable among these are the addition of the words in saeculo in 1:1, and the fact that there is just one angel presiding over each of the two ways, as opposed to a company of angels, as in Barnabas.

Probably the closest possible reconstruction of the original Two Ways would consist in general of the words which coincide in D. 1-5 and the Ecclesiastical Canons, up to the point where the latter leaves the figure of the Two Ways. The E.C. omits the list of vices which make up the way of death, and this, with little doubt, was part of the original. The same is probably also true of the original of D. 4:9-14, which is also missing in E.C.

## 6.

Of the real or alleged parallels between D and B outside of the Two Ways sections, the only significant one is that which exists between D. 16:2 and B. 4:9b<sup>1</sup>. But with all the other evidence so strong against any direct dependence between D and B, it may easily be

---

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 4.



supposed that this saying also originated in some work now lost which became the common source of both of our extant passages.

## 7.

The relation of the Didache to Hermas is obscure. There is one significant parallel, that between D. 1:5 and Mand. 2:4-6<sup>1</sup>. The other parallels cited<sup>2</sup> can best be explained as coincidences due to the taking up of parallel subject matter.

The strong moral emphasis of Hermas tends to place him in the same general line of tradition as the Didache and the Epistle of St. James. However, because of the originality and peculiar development of Hermas' thought, the simplest explanation would be that Hermas originated from the same background as these others. There is at least a strong case for maintaining that Hermas, was, in fact, a Jew, or had a strong Jewish background. Some scholars have actually maintained this<sup>3</sup>, and the argument of Hilgenfeld, at any rate, seems worthy of serious consideration. Further discussion relating to this will follow later in another connection.

Therefore, though the matter is not of great moment for the purposes of the present discussion, the best ten-

---

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Muilenburg, op.cit., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Funk, op.cit., pp. CXXXIV, CXL.



## CHAPTER V

## THE SOURCE AND DATE OF THE DIDACHE

The criteria for establishing the precise date and place of origin of the Didache are very vague. So far, we have established the probability that it was compiled by a Jewish Christian whose church atmosphere was moderately Judaistic, certainly untouched by the Pauline tradition, although not Ebionite. We feel we have shown also that the Didache is not directly dependent on Barnabas, while at the same time there is no conclusive evidence that Barnabas is directly dependent on the Didache in the form which we are familiar with through the Jerusalem MS. But by that very fact, we are getting farther from establishing a date for the Didache, since many of the proposed ranges of dates have revolved in a large measure on the alleged dependence of one of these documents on the other.

## 1.

From the evidence already presented, and more to be presented later, we must conclude that the Didache derives its source either from the Church of Jerusalem, or some other church connected with it and in its general line of tradition.

The locale of its origin was probably either Palestine, Trans-Jordania, or Syria. The greatest bodies of Jewish Christians were to be found here; and though there were



also some in Asia Minor, these would naturally be more intensely and radically Judaizing because of their contact with churches of the Pauline tradition, whereas the Didache is more non-Pauline than anti-Pauline.

It is very unlikely that the Didache originated in Egypt, as Harnack and others would maintain. For one thing, it shows no interest in the metaphorical language, abstract speculation, and allegorizing, with which both Egyptian Judaism and Egyptian Christianity of this time seem to be imbued. (Cf., Philo Judaeus, also Barnabas.) Furthermore, the reference to the wheat scattered upon the mountains and later gathered into one loaf (D.9:4) is hardly consistent with the geography of Egypt.

## 2.

One of the most commonly proposed criteria relating to the date of the Didache deals with the relation of the Didache to Barnabas. But if no direct interdependency exists between these two documents, that no longer holds. Since the direct relationship between the Didache and Hermas is doubtful, that criterion is also shaky. Moreover, there is no unanimous agreement on the date of Hermas<sup>1</sup>.

The best evidence for the terminus a quo is that the Didache must, at least, be post Apostolic. It does not claim direct apostolic authorship, but rather claims by

---

<sup>1</sup> Some date Hermas c.95-100, with reference to Clement; others, c.140-155, on witness of the Muratorian Fragment.



inference to be built on traditions left by the Apostles. Furthermore, although Apostles are mentioned in ch. 11, these were presumably members of the same roving ministry as the Prophets, but of a higher Order. Even these must have been rare, for little is said about them. Certainly we may infer that none of the original Apostles were still alive. Probably, moreover, the Didache was compiled after St. Matthew's Gospel became current, although it is barely possible that the Gospel saying could be drawn from the Pre-Matthaeian version of "Q".

According to the one evidence for the terminus ad quem, the Didache must have been written while the Jewish Church still had, or hoped to have, some authority or prestige among Gentile Christians. This would probably place it before the adoption of Gentile usages in the Church of Jerusalem. (A.D. 138).

We shall have, therefore, to be satisfied with the tentative and very vague conclusion that the Didache was compiled between 90 and 138 A.D.

There are two notable theories along the general lines of our hypothesis, either of which are possible, though neither of them is at all provable.

Canon Spence conjectures that the Didache was written by Symeon of Jerusalem (d., c. 107) in Pella in the Decapolis





between 80 and 90<sup>1</sup>. Now it is very possible that the Didache was written in Symeon's time. Furthermore, though he was of venerable authority, it is doubtful if he should be considered an Apostle in the sense of the Twelve. Yet on the other hand, there is no positive evidence which should justify us in ascribing the Didache to Symeon personally. It is always very easy for people of later generations to pick out some notable person to whom they may attribute a work, when as a matter of fact there are plenty of more obscure persons in any age who would be just as capable of writing it.

Volkmar<sup>2</sup> conjectures that the Didache was written in Pella in the time of Bar-Cochba (c.132-135.) There is slight though inconclusive evidence for this in D.16:3-5, where the vividness of the reference to a persecution, in which many were to apostasize, would have its best counterpart for Jewish Christians in the events of this period.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is drawn from the synopsis of Canon Spence's views found in Schaff, op.cit., p.127. The reference in Spence is given there as Excursus ii, p. 95ff.

<sup>2</sup> Summarized in Schaff, p. 304f.



## VI.

## THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE

Having now laid the groundwork, we are ready to tackle the principal subject of our thesis. In considering the Christology of the Didache, there is no better place in which to start than by examining the positive and negative evidence to be found in the Didache itself. Without further initial discussion, then, we shall consider

A. The positive Christological affirmations found in the Didache.

1. Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah (9:4), and thus the fulfillment of O.T. Messianic hopes (implied in 9:2).
2. Jesus is to be called Lord (κύριος). (Subtitle; 9:5; 11:8; 14:1; 15:3). Nevertheless, judgment should be reserved as to how much this word implies.
3. Jesus, presumably since His Resurrection and Ascension and consequent exaltation, has come to occupy a position as mediator, so that prayer may be made to God in his name (9:4).
4. By the use of the Trinitarian Formula in Baptism, at least a passive assent to His divine Sonship is implied (7:1,3). However, that need not imply that it is an active belief, unless we find that there are other and voluntary uses of equivalent language outside of the formulaic expression.
5. On the other hand, Jesus is called the servant (παῖς) of God, apparently in the same sense as this term is also applied to David (9:2,3; 10:2,3).

However, there are many times when the things which are not said are quite as significant as those that are.



Therefore, we must examine

B. The Christological doctrines whose omission is significant.

1. There is no suggestion of influence by Pauline or Johannine ideas, with their high Christological implications. (Vide supra, Sec. III).
2. There is no reference to Christ's divine Preexistence.
3. There is no active reference to Jesus as the Son of God. D.16:4, which is sometimes cited to prove indirectly that D acknowledges Jesus as the Son of God (e.g., by Funk and Schaff) is probably more nearly equivalent to "angel of light" (II Cor. 11:14). Cf. Job 1:6 and 2:1, Ps. 28 (29):1 (LXX); 88(89):6(7) (LXX); Gen. 6:2.
4. There is no reference to the atoning work of Christ's Death. (For discussion of the meanings of κύριος, παῖς, and "Vine of David," v. infra).



## VII.

## THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF ACTS

The early chapters of Acts, which tell of the life and work of the Church of Jerusalem before St. Paul's missionary journeys, are generally recognized as forming a separate section of the book, with sources different from the rest<sup>1</sup>. One of the peculiarities of this section is the type of Christological expression which is observed. It is a particularly undeveloped and "low" type. Nothing like it is found in the rest of the N.T. (the nearest approach is in the Epistle of St. James), and the only thing in the extra-canonical literature of the Church which greatly resembles it is what is found in the Didache. That there is special reason for using this type of language in this first section of Acts is given further weight by the fact that the only place in that section where Jesus is called the Son of God is when that expression is attributed to St. Paul, whose strong teaching in this regard no one can deny. There is every reason to believe that this special language was used on purpose to represent the type of language prevailing in the Church of

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Scott, op.cit., Chap. VI, and esp., pp. 100, 103, 104ff., also Bicknell, in Gore's Commentary, pp. 325ff., 332-5, 337f., 339, 347.



Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>.

In view of this apparent parallelism, we shall proceed to examine the evidence bearing on Christological teaching in this section of Acts<sup>2</sup>, using, as nearly as possible, the same method which we used in examining the Didache.

#### A. Christological affirmations.

1. Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah (A. 2:32, 36, 38; 3:6, 20; 4:10; 8:12; 9:31; 10:36, 48; 11:17), and thus the fulfillment of O.T. Messianic hopes (2:23, 25-28, 34f.; 3:18, 22, 25; 4:18, 25f.; 5:30; 8:32f.)
2. Jesus is called Lord (κύριος). The same caution is to be observed here as in the Didache) (1:21; 2:36; 4:33; 8:16; 10:3, 4, 13; 11:16, 17, 20, etc.)
3. a. God raised Jesus from the dead (2:24, 32; 3:15, 26; 5:30; 10:40).
- b. God exalted Jesus (Ac. 3:13), by virtue of which
  - (1) He is "made" Lord and Christ (κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός) (2:36).
  - (2) He is seated at the Right Hand of God (2:33; 5:31; 10:42).

---

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary for us here to propound a theory to explain the special characteristics of this part of Acts. However, in general, it is most likely, that S. Luke (or the writer of Acts) either had special sources which he incorporated here, or that he made up his speeches, using the type of language which according to his own knowledge characterized the Church in Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> In future comparisons, this section of Acts will often be denoted by the symbol AJ (i.e., Acts of the Jerusalem Church).



(3) He is the mediator through whom spiritual gifts are bestowed:

(a) Salvation and forgiveness of sins (2:38; 4:12; 10:43).

(b) Healing and other χαρίσματα (3:6, 16, 26; 4:10, 30; 11:17).

4. Jesus Himself is said to perform miraculous works (2:33; 9:17, 34).

5. Strong emphasis is laid on Jesus' Humanity:

a. He is called παῖς Θεοῦ (3:13, 26; 4:27, 30) in the same sense as David (4:25).

b. He is spoken of as a man through whom God worked (2:22).

c. He is called ἅγιος (3:14; 10:38), but so were the prophets (3:21, cf. L.1:70).

B. Significant omissions: No mention is made of

1. Christ's divine preexistence.

2. His divine Sonship (except by Paul).

3. In any direct form, of the atonement through His Death.



## VIII.

COMPARISON OF THE CHRISTOLOGICAL ASSERTIONS IN THE  
DIDACHE AND IN THE EARLY SECTION OF ACTS

Having singled out the Christological assertions in D and in AJ, we will proceed to compare them so as to note the essential oneness of their positive assertions and their significant omissions, and also to note their less significant divergences:

1. Jesus is the Messiah, the Christ. This is amply affirmed by both documents.
2. Jesus is called Lord (κύριος), though exactly what this implies is left vague. (A fuller discussion of this is to follow in a later section.)
3. Jesus occupies a position as Mediator, which in AJ is definitely associated with, and made a consequence of, His Resurrection and Ascension. In D this is not so explicitly stated, but the principle of prayer through His Name, and the positive assertion of His Second Coming certainly imply His glorification and mediatorship. And yet the strong (and seemingly exclusive) emphasis on Jesus' Humanity and ethical teaching would make it more than dangerous to assume that this exaltation is predicated in any degree on His preexistent Deity, as opposed to his exalted humanity. In other words, to say the least, these assertions go no further than would be in keeping with the Christological theory of Adoptionism.
4. Great emphasis is laid on Jesus' humanity.
  - a. In AJ, He is spoken of predominantly as a man who did miraculous works by the power of God.
  - b. In D, the chief emphasis is on Jesus as a teacher, and that largely ethical. The ethical teachings of the Two Ways are to be



taught to the catechumens before baptism (D. 7:1) but nothing is said about teaching as to Christ's Person or redemptive Work. The same emphasis is to be observed in the Eucharistic prayers (9:3; 10:2; and possibly 9:2).

- c. Both D and AJ call Jesus *neĩ Qasĩ* in a context which makes it clear that it is in the same sense as the term is also applied to David, and by the same logic, to other O.T. worthies.
5. Both D and AJ agree in omitting any clear reference to
- a. Christ's preexistence.
  - b. Jesus as the Son of God.
  - c. The atoning work of His Death.



## IX.

## THE CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE DIDACHE AND EARLY ACTS

Although we have observed the essential unity of Christological thought existing in D and AJ, and we shall continue to observe it, it is nevertheless well for the sake of the general perspective to note that there are less important differences, which really amount more to a difference in emphasis than one of essential thought.

In AJ, the things which we find emphasized most about Jesus are His Resurrection (2:24, 32; 3:15, 26; 5:30; 10:40), His consequent exaltation (2:33, 36; 3:13; 5:31; 10:42, the miracles done in His earthly Life (2:22) and still being done in His Name (2:33; 3:6, 16; 4:10, 30; 9:34, etc.), and His fulfillment of O.T. Scripture (2:25-28, 34f.; 3:18, 22, 25; 4:18, 25f.; 5:30; 8:32f.)

On the other hand, the principal emphasis in D is upon Jesus as a Teacher. In illustration of this, we may point to (a) the generous number of Gospel quotations in the 2W Section, all pointing to ethical teachings of our Lord, and (b) to the other references in the remainder of the work stressing Jesus' importance as a Teacher or reminding us of various of His teachings, notably 8:2; 9:2, 3, 5; 10:2; 11:3, 8, etc. Besides we must remember



again that the whole catechetical instruction envisaged there is based on Jesus' ethical teaching, with not a word on His Person or Work.

And yet these differences of emphasis in D and AJ are not incompatible. They are explainable in terms of the difference of times and external circumstances, and the kernel of essential thought is the same.

In AJ the purpose of the preaching there recorded is to commend Jesus to the Jews, who were largely interested in external miracles (cf. I Cor. 1:22). Furthermore it reflects the effects of an early period, when the disciples were still living under the immediate effect of Jesus' Life and Personality. In a very real sense, the thought of this period is the spiritual ancestor of both the later Jewish Christian and the later Gentile Christian emphases. Gentile Christianity, through its emphasis on Jesus' marvelous Personality, developed doctrines of Jesus' Person which bore fruit in its advanced Christology. Jewish Christianity, on the other hand, by maintaining the emphasis on Jesus' humanity, eventually allowed this enthusiasm to evaporate, resulting in an emphasis which was chiefly legal and moral.

Thus in D we see the effect of this latter tendency on a later generation of Jewish Christians. The tone is one of a Christianized, mild form of Pharisaism. The Didache teaches not with authority but as the scribes. But partly because of that very fact, the formal content of



D's teaching is essentially the same as that found in the earlier AJ.



## X.

## THE TRINITARIAN FORMULA IN BAPTISM

There is one apparent exception to the formulation which we have just made of the Christological teaching in D. This is the insertion of the Trinitarian Formula of Baptism, which occurs twice (D. 7:1, 3). Assuming the genuineness of these passages, these present a difficulty, in that the Trinitarian Formula almost necessarily infers that Jesus is to be regarded as Son of God in a distinctive sense, and furthermore, it implies an association with the Godhead which could hardly be explained otherwise than in the Trinitarian sense.

## 1.

There are some who tend to doubt the authenticity of the passages in question, and suspect that they are a later interpolation, or more likely, a substitute for the more simple formula of Baptism in the Name of the Lord Jesus. The argument for this theory, briefly, is based on the assumption that Mt. 28:19 is an interpolation, or at any rate, that it does not reflect the actual words of our Lord<sup>1</sup>. The Trinitarian Formula, it is contended, is

---

<sup>1</sup> This view is so commonly accepted among critical scholars that it can hardly be considered radical. Levertoff and Goudge in their article on "The Gospel according to St. Matthew" in the relatively conservative Gore's Commentary, in their comment ad loc. (p. 204), accept substantially this thesis.



inconsistent with the undeveloped, low Christology of the early Jewish Christian Church, but came into being as a result of the higher Christology which eventually became generally accepted in the Gentile Church, and thence it was later inserted into the Gospel to bring it into line with what, by that time, was the universally accepted practice in Catholic Christianity. In support of this it is to be noted that Baptism in Acts is always referred to as in the Name of the Lord Jesus. If that be true, then it is hardly likely that the Didache, which bears so many of the marks of this primitive, low Jewish Christian Christology, would have originally contained the Trinitarian Formula of Baptism.

Now it cannot be denied, on one hand, that there is a distinct possibility that the occurrences of the Trinitarian Formula in D. 7:1, 3 do represent interpolations. In fact, it would be impossible to prove the contrary, since our one MS of the Didache dates from the eleventh century, which allows ample time for potential interpolations. Moreover, it would be much the easier solution for us to reject these passages as not authentic parts of the original, since their presence is distinctly troublesome, constituting the one apparent exception to an otherwise clear and consistent line of Christological teaching. If, therefore, these passages are not an authentic part of the



original, we are discharged from further necessity to explain the,, and the main line of argument presented in this thesis is left undisturbed.

## 2.

However, there is sufficient evidence bearing in the opposite direction that it makes it precarious for us to lean too heavily on this easy solution to the problem. Although it is impossible to produce a clear vindication of the authority for the Trinitarian Formula, from a critical point of view, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that the case against the Trinitarian Formula in either Mt or D is far from proved. The evidence bearing in favor of the genuineness of the Trinitarian Formula, or at least tending to neutralize the evidence against it, may be summarized as follows:

a. The argument against the genuineness of the Trinitarian Formula in Mt rests wholly on conjecture. There is not a single shred of manuscript evidence against it. But since that is true, it follows that if it be an interpolation at all it must have crept into the text very early. But that takes away most of the point of assuming that the passage in question is an interpolation. Besides, if it be an interpolation, however early, it is passing strange that no text preserves the original in view of the multitude of textual traditions which have survived to color



one or another of the extant ancient MSS of the N.T. Therefore we must conclude that the balance of manuscript evidence is against the Trinitarian Formula being an interpolation in Mt, and it will continue so unless some early MS be discovered which lacks the disputed passage.

But if Mt. 28:19 is not an interpolation, this poses another question: What is the source from whence the Trinitarian Formula is derived? In this connection it is significant to remember the generally recognized fact that Mt is the most Jewish of all the Canonical Gospels, written from the most definitely Jewish Christian viewpoint, by all evidence which we possess, the most commonly used in the early Jewish Christian Church, and apparently the main source from which the more radically Judaizing Gospel according to the Hebrews and Gospel of the Ebionites were derived. Why should this of all the Gospels be the one to contain the Trinitarian Formula of Baptism? Certainly it is not likely that it was derived from Gentile Christian influence, for however much the moderate Judaizing party may have tolerated the distinctive features of Gentile Christianity, the early Jewish Christian Church, from all the evidence we possess, showed itself quite impervious to receiving any influence from the Gentile Church. And yet it is perfectly true that one of the distinctive features of the Jewish Christian Church was the undeveloped, low



form of Christology, with which the Trinitarian Formula is, superficially at least, quite out of keeping. This is hardly the place to discuss the question of whether the Trinitarian Formula represents the actual words of our Lord. Speaking from a critical standpoint, that is at the best, a matter of conjecture. And yet it does appear from the best evidence we possess, and laying aside purely subjective conjectures as to why it could not be genuine, that the Trinitarian Formula must have come down to the Gospel of St. Matthew from some source so venerable that it could not be ignored, so that the author of St. Matthew's Gospel felt impelled to accept it for its own sake, even if its implications were different from his ordinary thought forms.

a. Altogether aside from the question of the genuineness of Mt. 28:19, there are considerations which make it hazardous to reject the Trinitarian Formula in D. 7:1, 3. These may be summarized under three heads as follows:

- (1) If D. 7:1, 3 contain interpolations or alterations to bring the passages into line with orthodox Catholic practice, it constitutes not just a single change, but a whole series of changes which would comprise a concerted scheme to tamper with the text. Now many of the most significant interpolations in canonical Scripture seem to be explained as marginal glosses, inserted by one copyist by way of explanation, and then incorporated into the text by a later scribe. But the passages in question cannot be explained that way. The mention of the Trinitarian Formula occurs not once but twice. And what is more, if these



be interpolations, then the direction for for three-fold pouring in 7:3 must also be an interpolation, since it would be pointless without the Trinitarian Formula. And yet from the order of the words, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ΤΡΙΣ ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα.....κ.τ.λ. it is evident that this would constitute a third distinct interpolation. Moreover, we might conceive of a scribe inserting the Trinitarian Formula because he was shocked at its omission, without it occurring to him also to insert the word τοῖς. Each of these considerations serve to render the hypothesis that these expressions are additions that much more complex. But let us proceed to ask ourselves the question, why this hypothetical scribe should have seen fit to go to the work of making such an elaborate revision and especially in this one spot alone. All the available evidence makes it very doubtful if the Didache ever attained a position of very much importance in the Church Catholic. Why, then, should this effort have seemed worth while? Besides, there are plenty of other considerations which would make the Didache, as we know it, unsuitable as a manual of Church order outside the narrow sphere of Jewish Christianity, and especially in the developed order of the Catholic Church as we see it in later times, without a wholesale revision<sup>1</sup>. This then makes it even more unlikely that this is an alteration designed to adapt the text to some other Church order into which the Didache was later transplanted.

- (2) There are other things in the Didache which are just as inconsistent with the later generally accepted order of the Catholic Church as the omission of the Trinitarian Formula in Baptism. One which, at any rate, should be equally glaring, is the omission of the Dominical Words of Institution in the forms prescribed for the Eucharist. And that is to say nothing of the low Christology generally pervading the whole work, nor of the two-fold one, implied in 15:1. And yet these passages containing discrepancies with later Catholic practice are obviously quite untampered with. But if an over-zealously orthodox minded scribe should see fit systematically to revise

---

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, when D was incorporated into AC, just such a wholesale revision did take place.



one of these passages, why should he not the others also?

- (3) There is still one reference to Baptism in the Name of the Lord in the Didache as it now stands, in 9:5. Again we may ask the question, if the hypothetical scribe, to whom the work of revising 7:1, 3 would have to be credited, was so thorough going in his work, why did he not revise this passage also? But as we have the Didache now, and assuming that in fact it does preserve the original reading in each of the passages in question, the Trinitarian Formula in 7:1, 3 serves as the specific form of Baptism, while the reference to Baptism in the Name of the Lord in 9:5 serves as a general description of what might very well be the identical rite described in 7:1, 3. In other words, οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου would serve as an equivalent of the phrase which would be more common in current ecclesiastical usage, "Those who have received Christian Baptism."

Our general conclusion, then, is that, at least so far as the Didache is concerned the Trinitarian Formula is not a substitute for the phrase in the Name of the Lord (Jesus), as applied to Baptism, but that the two expressions are quite consistent with each other, the one serving as the specific formula, the other as a descriptive phrase.

c. There still remain the passages in Acts which speak of Baptism in the Name of the Lord Jesus (2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5). Objectively speaking, these constitute the strongest evidence against the authenticity of the Trinitarian Formula. If they represent the actual form understood to have been used, whether actually in the earliest days of the Jerusalem Church or by the analogy



of what was used in the time of the writing of Acts, then the evidence for the authenticity of the Trinitarian Formula becomes slim indeed. However, it is not necessary to infer that the expression, "Baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus," does mean to suggest the actual form of words employed. Indeed, if we have inferred correctly that in the Didache this expression is used as a descriptive paraphrase rather than a specific form, then there is at least a reasonable probability that the same may be true in Acts. There is every reason to believe that it would seem desirable to use some designation shorter than the literal repetition of the full form of words employed, to denote Christian Baptism in the generic sense, in view of the fact that there were other kinds of baptism contemporaneously employed which did not have Christian significance, notably the baptism of John, and the baptism administered to proselytes to Judaism. But a still stronger argument against supposing that the expressions used in Acts intended to indicate a specific formula of words is found when we observe that these four references cited contain different words, and so do not actually agree among themselves. Thus we find,

- |            |                                |               |
|------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| (1) Twice, | ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ | (8:16; 19:5). |
| (2) Once,  | ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ   | (2:38).       |
| (3) Once,  | ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ    | (10:48).      |

Accordingly, although we can hardly claim to have proved that the Trinitarian Formula is genuine, there is

of which was used in the last of the edition of 1911, and

the evidence for the authenticity of the edition

is not so strong as it once was. However, it is not necessary

to infer that the edition is not authentic, but that it is

not authentic, and that the edition is not authentic

because, indeed, it we have inferred correctly that it

is not authentic, it would be a good idea to

paraphrase rather than a scientific form, then there is

least a possibility that the same may be true

in fact. There is every reason to believe that it is

the only edition of the full form of which appears, to

be the edition which is the basis of the

of the first form there were other kinds of edition

consequently, which did not have authentic status

because, which the edition of 1911, and the edition

which is the basis of the edition of 1911. But a still stronger

reason is that in 1911 the edition was used in

the edition to include a special form of which

the edition of 1911 was the basis of the edition

because, which the edition of 1911, and the edition

because, which the edition of 1911, and the edition

(1) Edition of 1911, which is the basis of the edition  
(2) Edition of 1911, which is the basis of the edition  
(3) Edition of 1911, which is the basis of the edition  
(4) Edition of 1911, which is the basis of the edition

because, which the edition of 1911, and the edition

certainly such a strong case established for its genuineness as to make it dangerous for us to assume anything else, for the purposes of our present examination.

### 3.

However, granting the genuineness of the Trinitarian Formula in D. 7:1, 3, we must take into consideration two facts: First, there is no other place in the Didache where language occurs bearing such high Christological implications. Second, the Trinitarian Formula is here used obviously as a liturgical form, presumably one current in the Church in which the Didache originated. There is no implication that it is in any sense expressing the original thought of D. Here as well as elsewhere, it is apparent that D was presenting a picture of normative Church life according to the standards of his religious community, rather than making innovations on the basis of his own originality. This applies equally to the inclusion of the liturgical formula, and to the omission of other language in keeping with it. Accordingly, we may draw the following conclusions:

a. The preponderance of evidence makes it appear that the Jewish Christian Church contemporaneously with the Didache used the Trinitarian Baptismal Formula liturgically, but gave no other corporate or usual expression to Christological thought in keeping with its implications.



b. As suggested earlier, this liturgical formula must have come down to this Church from some revered authority, hardly from the Gentile Church, and have been accepted by them on the sheer weight of this authority, rather than because it was an active and natural expression of their thought.



## XI.

THE "VINE OF DAVID" AND OTHER CHRISTOLOGICAL  
IMPLICATIONS OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS

From any viewpoint, it is obvious that the expression, "Vine of David," found in the Eucharistic prayers (D. 11:2) must have some Christological significance. As we have already seen, some have seized on this expression to press their claim that the *Didache* has affinities with Johannine ideas<sup>1</sup>. However, we feel that we have sufficiently demonstrated sub. loc. that such a theory has little basis in fact.

## 1.

There are two principal interpretations of the "Vine of David," of which the first is that the Vine signifies Christ. But that is closely tied up with the theory which we have already discussed and rejected, viz., that this figure bears affinities to J. 15, and so implies basically Johannine concepts. We have already cited the most important patristic evidence commonly adduced in support of this theory, namely Clem. Alex., Quis Divus Salv. 29, and Origen, Hom in Lib. Jud. VI<sup>2</sup>. Further evidence is adduced from Rabbinical Jewish sources. One

---

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, sec. III, 5b, also sec. II, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sec. II, 3.



of these is cited from the Talmud Berachoth, 57a, by Delitzsch<sup>1</sup>:

"He who sees a choice vine in a dream, may look for the Messiah, for it is written (i.e., Gen. 49:11), 'He bindeth to the vine his foal, and to the choice vine his ass's colt'."

Another is cited by Muilenburg<sup>2</sup> from the Shemoneh Esreh:

"Let the shoot of David thy servant soon shoot forth."

However, these references do not alter our position that the "Vine of David" which is made known through God's Servant, Jesus as it is used in D can hardly refer directly to Jesus Himself. On the other hand these references serve to strengthen our contention that there is no necessary direct connection between D. 11:2 and J. 15, since it is obvious from these and many other passages that the figure of the Vine was a common one in Judaism of that time.

## 2.

A more promising clew is furnished when we remember that Hebrew literature uses the figure of the Vine just as frequently to signify Israel as to signify the Messiah. It is a familiar symbol in this sense in the O.T. Examples may be found in Ps. 80:8, Isa. 5:1-7; Jer. 2:21; 6:9; 12:10; Hos. 10:1. On the other hand, the Messiah is

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Schaff, op.cit., p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Op.cit., p. 106.



more commonly referred to in the O.T. as the Branch of David (cf. Isa. 11:1; Jer. 23:5; 33:15; etc.) But then, it seems that the figure of the Vine (and sometimes also the Branch) became applied by transfer to the revived, eschatological Kingdom of Israel, which was looked forward to by the prophets, and was identical with the Kingdom of the Messiah. Of such tenor are Isa. 4:2 and Ps. 80:14f. This concept was also strongly current in later Judaism as shown by the Aramaic Targum on Ps. 80:14f.<sup>1</sup>, which is cited wrongly, I believe, by Delitzsch to bolster his contention that the Vine signified the Messiah. This reads, "Elohim Zebaoth, oh! turn now again, look from heaven and see, and remember in mercy this vine (Israel); and the vine shoot which Thy right hand hath planted, and the King Messiah, whom Thou hast established for Thyself." Finally, the early Christians came to believe that, as Jesus was the true Messiah, so they were the true Israel. St. Paul develops this idea in Rom. 9:6; I Cor. 10:18; Gal. 6:16. But this idea is not peculiar to St. Paul. It was logically inescapable consequence of the knowledge that Jesus, the true Messiah, had been rejected by the mass of the Jewish nation. And even if they still hoped the mass of the Jewish nation would still turn to Christ, there was yet the conviction that as His followers, they

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Schaff, op. cit., p. 298.



were, in the meantime, the true heirs of the Messianic promises. Very probably that is the logic which lay behind James 1:1. And it appears that even the Ebionites, or part of them, taught that Jesus came to reestablish the pure Mosaic Law which they claimed had been hopelessly corrupted by Priestly and Rabbinical Judaism<sup>1</sup>.

### 3.

In view of the evidence just presented, to the effect that the figure of the Vine underwent an evolutionary process, beginning with the concept which made it represent the Israelitish nation, our conclusion is that the "Vine of David" in D. 11:2 refers, not to Christ or the Messiah directly, but to the Messianic Kingdom, the inheritance of the Messianic promises, the new Law of Christ, and the fellowship of the Church, which at the moment constituted the "True Israel," all of which was revealed to them through Jesus, and which they became partakers of through belief in His Messiahship.

### 4.

It is worthy of note that the Eucharistic prayers, like the Didache generally, lay strong emphasis on Jesus as a teacher (9:3; 10:2).

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robertson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 66, citing Epiphanius.







1. As a title, e.g., 1:21. This probably originated,
  - a. From familiar reminiscences of the time when Jesus was the disciples' earthly Master and Teacher.
  - b. Out of the disciples' natural, but probably undefined, feeling of veneration for Jesus.
2. As predicate, e.g., 2:36. Here the chief idea expressed is Messiahship.

As a matter of fact, the meaning of the word, as applied to Jesus, probably grew almost imperceptably from a title of respect with no consciously expressed predication of Divinity, as of the time when the disciples first came to know Jesus, through the intermediate stage of predicating Messiahship, to one of conscious predication of Divinity, as the significance of our Lord's character was perceived more and more in men's minds.

So far as the Didache is concerned, in view of the type of Christological expression found elsewhere, it is dangerous to assume that the meaning of *κύριος* had progressed far beyond the second stage of this evolutionary process.



## XIII.

THE MEANING OF  $\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  AS APPLIED TO JESUS

We have seen that D and AJ both agree in applying to Jesus the title  $\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  in a context which makes it plain that it is applied in the same sense as it is to David. In the N.T. the expression occurs as applied to Jesus, only in Acts. It is interesting to note that the translators of the A.V. apparently shrank from its implications by translating it "Son" twice (Ac. 3:13, 26) and "Child" twice (Ac. 4:27, 30).

## 1.

In Classic Greek, the word  $\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  had more or less of a double meaning, like the French garçon. Primarily it meant child or boy, and thus was often quite similar in its meaning to  $\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ . In fact, when used in a context implying relationship or joined to the genitive of a personal name it could be practically synonymous with  $\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in meaning "Son" or "Son of ....." Examples of this are to be found in Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon (e.g. Anab. I.1), and others. But  $\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  also took on a secondary meaning of boy, servant, just like garçon. Examples are to be found in Aeschylus (e.g., Choeph. 652f.), Aristophanes, Plato, and others.

In the N.T. the word still has this two-fold meaning,



but with important difference: Although it has retained the primary meaning of child, it seems, in general, to have lost the sense of potential filial relationship. In other words, it can mean child, but, generally, not the child (or son) of anyone in particular. The one exception to that in the N.T. is the Johannine writings (J. 4:51). It means child (but without this sense of filial relationship) in Mt. 2:16; 17:18; 21:15; L. 2:43; 8:51, 54; 9:42; Ac. 20:12. It obviously means servant in Mt. 8:6, 8, 13; 14:2; L. 7:7, 12:45; 15:26. To put this evidence in the form of a generalized statement, we may say that in the N.T. when παῖς is joined with a genitive the presumption is that it means servant, not child.

In the LXX, παῖς becomes a frequent translation of עֶבֶד (also sometimes translated δούλος), most frequent Hebrew word for servant. Here it can mean servant in the common sense, but also עֶבֶד יְהוָה, a Servant of Yahweh. In this latter sense, it is applied to

- a. Any servant or devout worshipper of God, e.g., Ps. 112 (113):1.
- b. The Psalmist, himself, e.g., Ps. 85 (86):16.
- c. Moses, Neh. 1:7.
- d. David, Isa. 37:35.
- e. Isaiah, Isa. 20:3.
- f. Prophets in general, Jer. 33 (26):5; 42 (35):15; I Esdr. 8:79 (82); Bar. 2:20, 24.
- g. Israel as a nation, Isa. 41:8, etc.



The N.T. has taken over this meaning of *mei*, along with the others already mentioned; and we find examples of it in L. 1:54, where it is applied to Israel; L. 1:69 and Ac. 4:25, where it is applied to David; and Mt. 12:18, quoting Isa. 42:1, where it is obviously interpreted as applying to the Messiah.

## 2.

From this it is apparent that when the term *mei* (*mei*) is applied to Jesus in D and AJ, it is to be understood as meaning one used of God, as were the worthies of the O.T., and also as probably implying that Jesus was the Messiah; but it is an expression which obviously does not distinguish Jesus in kind from other men. It is particularly striking when it appears twice in almost the same breath applied first to David and then to Jesus (D. 9:2); and it is scarcely less striking when used in the same order in Ac. 4:25, 27.

Of all extant literature, this expression is found only in AJ and D as applied to Jesus in strictly this sense. This then furnishes one of the most striking of all the parallels between AJ and D, and all the cumulative evidence leads us to the conclusion that this expression was originally peculiar to the Jewish Church which centered in the Church of Jerusalem.

## 3.

There are a number of subsequent uses of *mei* (*mei*) as applied to Jesus, but the meaning has changed and taken



on a higher Christological significance.

In I Clement, the expression occurs three times as applied to Jesus, all in the quasi liturgical prayer extending through Chs. 59-61, viz. 59:2, 3, 4. Two of these times (59:2, 3) the expression is *ἐκ τῶν ὑμνων* *πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, which in itself suggests a degree of filial relationship never attained in D or AJ. Furthermore, this same prayer concludes by referring to Christ as "High Priest and Patron (*ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προστάτης*) of our souls" (61:3), an expression which seems strongly to reflect the Christological spirit of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is still more definitely high Christological language in the rest of the Epistle. It is true that 64:1 has a slight suggestion of Adoptionism in it, but this is more than compensated for by the strong assertion of Christ's Divine Preexistence and Incarnation, found in 16:2, and the strong statement of Atonement through Christ's sacrificial death, in 7:4.

Since *ἐκ τῶν ὑμνων* occurs three times in a prayer, and nowhere else in I Clement, we may infer that it is not Clement's own language, but that in this prayer he was using the language of liturgy or prayer, as he was accustomed to it in his Church life. But this poses a question: How did this expression, which in its origin appears to be peculiar to the Jewish Church, become part of the liturgical language of the Church in Rome, even though in



a heightened sense? To this we may answer that there were many contacts between distinctly Jewish Christianity and the Church in Rome. We know, for instance that the Church in Rome was already in existence before St. Paul arrived, and that some of its members were Jews. But there is one particular link, which very well may have been responsible for transplanting this expression, and that would be the advent in Rome of St. Peter, which is not only pointed to by much ancient tradition which even Protestant scholars do not feel able to contradict, but is also inferred in I Clem. 6:4, as well as in S. Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans (4:3).

#### 4.

There are several uses of the phrase *παῖς Θεοῦ*, still later than St. Clement of Rome. But in all of them the Christology is uniformly high, and *παῖς* has once more become nearly synonymous with *υἱός*. Thus:

Mart. Polycarp. 14:1 ( ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Πατρός )

14:3 ( διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός )

20:20 (In this latter case it is actually joined with *μονογενής* ).

Ep. ad Diogn. 8:9 (μόνα τῷ παιδί ), 11 (τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός ); 9:1 (context implies Preexistence). Elsewhere in this Epistle, Jesus is called τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ 10:2).

Eucharistic Canon of Hippolytus (where Christ's



Divine Preexistence and Sonship are plainly stated).

Finally the AC, Book VII, which, as we have seen already, has incorporated most of D, has adapted the Eucharistic prayers of D into thanksgivings to accompany the Eucharist, and in so doing it has twice retained the expression *παῖρ Θεοῦ* as applied to Jesus. However, here again, there are so many accompanying expressions referring to His Preexistence, and to Him as the divine Logos, that it would appear that *παῖρ* might much better be translated, "Son." It is further interesting to notice that the reference to the "Vine of David" has been omitted, along with any reference to David as *παῖρ Θεοῦ*.



## XIV.

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE  
AND EARLY ACTS

## 1.

The only other N.T. writing at all comparable with AJ and D is the Epistle of James. Like D and AJ, there is strong evidence for the Epistle's Jewish origin, and especially like D is its great ethical emphasis, with little said on the Person or Work of Christ. But unlike D, James is an original work, with all the fire, the earnestness, and the eloquence which goes with an original work at its best. Again, whereas D appears ignorant of any professedly Christian point of view which stands in conflict with his own, James seems to have as one of his main objects, to combat Paulinism, or at least an exaggerated form of Paulinism with which he had obviously come into contact. If, however, the words *τῆς δόξης*, added to *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (2:1) be genuine, that would infer a higher Christology than anything found in D or AJ; and it suggests that the Pauline Christology had made a tacit impression on him.

## 2.

The First Epistle of St. Peter, whose authorship, to say the least, is open to question, shows strong Pauline



Pauline influence. (cf. Barnett, op.cit., pp. 51-69.)

The Christology, at least inferentially, follows Pauline lines. God is styled "Father" (1:2) and "Father by our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:3). This certainly implies the Divine Sonship of Jesus. Besides, there is strong emphasis on the vicarious Atonement through Christ's death (1:2, ἵνα πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἁγιασθῶσιν διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ; also 1:19; 2:21; 3:18). Finally, the Holy Spirit working in the O.T. is described as the "Spirit of Christ."

### 3.

The Pauline and Johannine writings, and the Epistle to the Hebrews are obviously so full of higher Christological teaching that it is hardly necessary to mention them again. The same is true, of Barnabas and I Clement, as we have observed already; and the same can also be said, without fear of contradiction, of the Epistles of St. Ignatius<sup>1</sup>.

### 4.

On the other hand, Hermas bears a certain resemblance to D and James, with an emphasis which is preponderantly moral, and with only occasional references to Christology. Moreover, those occasional references which we do find, exhibit definite signs of palpable heresy. For instance, Adoptionism seems to be taught quite openly (Sim. V), and the preexistent Son of God is equated with the Holy

---

<sup>1</sup> As examples of his Christology may be cited Magn. 8:2; Eph. 20:2; Smyrn. 1:1. In Magn. 13:1 we find the Names of the Trinity linked together.



Spirit (Sim. V; IX 1:1), and it is, furthermore, quite possible that Hermas intends to equate this Being with an angel, perhaps Michael (cf. Funk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. CXLII f.) According to this, Hermas stands convicted of Adoptionism, suspected of Binitarianism, and probably a precursor of Arianism! Besides, some of the things he says in connection with ethical teachings seem to constitute quite palpable Proto-Pelagianism!

But in these various heresies, there is at least a strong case for maintaining that Hermas is subject to Jewish influence. The arguments of Hilgenfeld in this regard<sup>1</sup>, which we have already noticed, are certainly worthy of careful weight. He compares Hermas' assertion that belief in one God is the sole article of Faith (Mand. I) with the assertions of the Ebionitish Pseudo-Clementine literature<sup>2</sup>, and cites Epiphanius<sup>3</sup> to prove that the Ebionites also believed in a preexistent Christ, who was created being of an order comparable with the Angels. Since it appears that Hermas was brought to Rome as a slave (Vis. I. 1), it is very possible that his early religious contacts may have been with Jewish Christians of Ebionizing tendencies.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Funk, op. cit., Vol. I, p. CXL.

<sup>2</sup> Recogn. I. 7:35; Hom. II, 12.

<sup>3</sup> H. 30, c. 16.



## 5.

We conclude, therefore, that D, along with AJ, James, and very possibly Hermas, have the common characteristic of representing Jewish Christianity at various stages up to the middle of the second century. On the other hand, whatever their place in the evolution of Judaistic Christianity may have been, none of them can be called Ebionite, for even if Hermas reflects Ebionite influences, he can hardly be called one himself since no full fledged Ebionite would presumably have fellowship with a Gentile Church. From the viewpoint of Christology, this theory is furthered by the fact that one and perhaps both of the main branches of the original Jewish Church which persevered in their distinctive Judaistic usages after the middle of the second century became formally heretical by adopting a Christology which definitely denied the Deity of Christ<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, our information regarding the precise distinctions among the Jewish Christian sects is still quite vague. See Robertson, op. cit., vol. I, p. 63-67, and Bethune-Baker, op. cit., p. 63 ff.



## XV.

THE RELATION OF THE JEWISH TYPE OF CHRISTOLOGY TO  
THE LATER CHRISTOLOGICAL HERESIES

There is one other interesting subject connected with our study, and that is the possible relation of the low Jewish Christian type of Christology which we have noted, to the later Christological heresies which troubled the whole of the Church Catholic.

From what we know of the later Judaizing sects of Christianity, they prevailed chiefly in Peraea, Syria, and Asia Minor. It is significant that these seem to be the principal grounds from which those later Theological and Christological heresies which most closely approximated the minimizing Christology of these Judaizing sects, sprang up in the Gentile Church. It is easy to conjecture therefore, that these later heresies may have been influenced to a large degree by the old Jewish Christological tradition. In some cases, this influence may have come about through actual contact with the Ebionites.

Thus Theodotus, the first notable exponent of Dynamic Monarchianism, came to Rome from Byzantium. He may easily have derived his opinions through contact with Ebionites in Asia Minor. In fact, Krawutzcky argues that Theodotus



was an Ebionite<sup>1</sup>.

In other cases, particularly in Syria, it is very probable that the old Jewish tradition of minimizing Christology was so firmly rooted that the Gentile Church, as well as the Jewish, became strongly imbued with it. For one thing, it must be remembered that the Church of Antioch even as a Gentile body, was of Jewish, pre-Pauline foundation<sup>2</sup>, and that at least in its early history, it seems to have been a meeting place for Gentile and Judaizing Christians.<sup>3</sup> But if Antioch, a predominantly Gentile city, had such a strong Jewish influence, it would be surprising if there was not even stronger Jewish influence upon the churches of Syria outside of Antioch<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore,

---

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that though Krawutzcky erred in attributing too much of an Ebionite bias to the Didache, he deserves much credit for being the first to see clearly the general direction in which the Didache implicitly vered. He seems to have realized that Christology is one of the main cruxes of the Didache's peculiarities, whereas many other eminent scholars were at least partly blinded by a smoke screen of lesser matters, many of them purely textual. He also seems to have realized the essential connection between Judaistic and Ebionite Christology and Dynamic Monarchianism. I regret my inability to study his work at first hand.

<sup>2</sup> Ac. 11:19 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ac. 14:26-15:2; Gal. 2:11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, though there is no positive evidence to support it, we would not be surprised if the Didache was originally intended for some such Gentile Church of non-Pauline tradition in rural Syria.



during the second century, there were many Jewish Christians who gave up their distinctive Judaizing usages, but who would still, in all probability, carry over much of the essential spirit of Jewish Christian thought. This type of Christological tradition, then, died hard, and presumably colored the general thought of the Syrian Church for centuries afterward.

Thus, Paul of Samosata taught his developed form of Dynamic Monarchianism in Syria; and Syria, on the whole, seemed to be the most receptive ground for Dynamic Monarchianism. The Adoptionism, which formed an important part of this system, persisted in particular; and adapted to Trinitarian Theology by the substitution of a personal for an impersonal Logos, it underlay the system of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, which, called after the name of the latter, flourished chiefly in Syria and parts to the East.



## XVI.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS PRESENTED

As we conclude our examination of the evidence bearing on the Christology of the Didache and the early portion of Acts, we find ourselves confronted by a question which has been lurking in the background as we have observed the definite type of low Christology which is embodied in these documents: "Must we conclude that the early portion of Acts and the Didache consciously intend to teach a doctrine which is substantially equivalent to Adoptionism and Unitarianism?" In order to answer this question intelligently, there are a number of facts which we must take into consideration:

1. The Synoptic Gospels contain many undeniable references to Jesus as the Son of God<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly we must suppose that during Christ's ministry, the disciples had heard, and, especially in moments of deep emotion, had even said themselves, things which implied a much higher concept of Jesus' Nature.
2. It is significant that during the period of tension

---

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these are textually unassailable, and the only means by which they can be ruled out is by the a priori presupposition that Jesus did not claim to be the Son of God.



between St. Paul and the Church in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> Christology did not seem to be a point at issue, but only the keeping of the Jewish Law. If the Church at Jerusalem had found St. Paul's teaching about Christ as the Son of God objectionable, that too would have become a point of issue.

3. On the other hand, it would be natural to expect that the disciples would not at first make much effort to think out the deeper implications of the Person and Nature of Christ. At the time, the experience of Christ's resurrection was fresh in their consciousness and their emotions. It would only be later that they would feel the need of thinking out the logical implications of their experience.

4. As Jews with an intense monotheism, it would not be likely that their first thought should be of Jesus' Deity but of his exalted Humanity.

5. It is natural that as Jews with a message to unbelieving Jews, they would concentrate on those elements of their message which would be most likely to appeal. Likewise, they would hold in the background that which would be most likely to evoke hostility. Emphasizing Jesus as Son of God certainly would be one of the things most likely to offend Jewish sensibilities.

6. It is likely with this policy that there should grow up a new generation of Jewish converts who would accept

---

<sup>1</sup> Ac. 15:1-29; Gal. 2, etc.



Jesus as an ethic teaching prophet, as risen from the dead, and as Messiah, but to whom the concept of His unique, divine Sonship would seem strange and even repugnant.

7. This condition could easily establish a trend toward lower, rather than higher, Christology in the Jewish Church, though the process would be slow because of their conservative tendencies.



## XVI.

SUMMARY OF THE PROBABLE ATTITUDE WHICH LAY BEHIND THE  
CHRISTOLOGY OF THE DIDACHE AND EARLY ACTS

From what has preceded we offer the following as a hypothesis:-

1. The Apostles had heard Jesus teach, at least esoterically, His supernatural nature, and had in at least some degree come to accept Him as Son of God.
2. However, they had not had the time, even if the disposition, to reason out the implications of this fact.
3. After Christ's Resurrection, this event took first place in their minds, and pushed other things temporarily into the background, since this greatest of all miracles was by itself sufficient to vindicate in their minds His claim to Messiahship.
4. The first speeches of the Apostles were essentially irenic in nature, designed to appeal to their fellow Jews and persuade them of that, in their minds, was the principal thing Jesus claimed to be, i.e., the Messiah.
5. There was also the added motive, that they probably expected Christ's return as an imminent event; therefore, the all important thing was to prepare for that.
6. The principal points of emphasis in early Apostolic preaching were:



- a. Jesus as the Messiah.
- b. His fulfillment of O.T. prophecy.
- c. His human righteousness.
- d. His miracles wrought through God's power.
- e. His Resurrection.
- f. His exaltation.

7. This emphasis gave a form to the Apostles' teaching which outwardly resembled Adoptionism. However, there was nothing in it which by itself denies orthodox Christian theology. I.e., the "adoptionism" preached by them, and by the early Church in Jerusalem, should not be taken as an attempt consciously to limit the sense in which Christ may be said to be divine, but it is rather part of an undeveloped theology.

8. Paul probably realized even before his conversion that Christianity by implication tended to deify Jesus, and that accounted largely for his violent opposition to it. When converted, he became the first openly to proclaim Jesus' divine Sonship.

9. Paul's emphasis on this and kindred points became the basis of normal Gentile Christian Christology.

10. Even so, there is no evidence of this becoming an early issue between Gentile Christianity and the Jerusalem Church. Perhaps they recognized Paul's teaching on this point as based on authentic Christian Tradition, though for apologetic reasons in terms of their own context, they did



not emphasize it among themselves.

11. Very probably, the more moderate Apostles, when they went over to Gentile Churches (e.g., St. Peter going to Rome), did not find themselves in any essential conflict with the Christology which was already taught there, and their accustomed language tended to blend in with Gentile Christological thought, with results such as we find in I Clem. 59-61. Furthermore, many of the less partisanly Judaistic Christians openly adopted Gentile usages after 138 A.D.

12. On the other hand, Judaistic legal and moral tendencies brought about special emphasis on Christian moral teaching, so that the primary emphasis was on Jesus as a moral teacher, and on His Gospel as the "New Law."

13. The generations in the Jerusalem Church reared in this low Christological tradition prevailing there, evidently come more and more consciously to limit Christ's divinity to that consistent with the Adoptionist sense. Furthermore, their factional dislike of Gentile Christianity, based primarily on their Jewish nationalism, would lead them to repudiate the most distinctive doctrines of the Gentile Church.

14. This brought about the positive Christological heresies evident in the later Jewish Christian sects.

15. This general type of Christology also succeeded in permeating, to a large measure, the thought of the Syrian



Gentile Church, and so became the source of the Adoptionistic element in the Dynamic Monarchianism of Paul of Samosata and in the "Nestorianism" of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius.

And so it may truly be said that in the Didache, we see Jewish Christianity at the crossroads. At this time the Jewish Church in which the Didache originated was still to some degree in touch with the Gentile Church, and its teaching was still formally consistent with orthodox Christianity, though its emphasis vered in the opposite direction. But the Jewish Church was also at the point where, if it continued its trend much further, it would have to become a sect, as those of its number who did not give up their distinctive Judaism actually did. And the thought of the Didache is on the verge of development into numerous and influential Christological heresies.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Texts:

For the Didache and other early patristic literature:-

Funk, Francis Xavier, *Patres Apostolici*, vol. I.,  
(second edition, Tübingen,  
1901)

For the New Testament:-

Novum Testamentum Graece, cum apparatu critico,  
curavit Eberhard Nestle, novis curis elaboravit  
Erwin Nestle (sixteenth edition, Stuttgart, 1936)

For the Old Testament:-

The Septuagint:-

The Old Testamentum Greek according to the  
Septuagint ed. by Henry Barclay Swete,  
3 vols. (second ed., Cambridge University  
Press, 1895)

For the Hebrew Version, the American Revised  
Version has been used as best following the  
Hebrew Text.

## Other Works:

Funk, Francis Xavier, *Prolegomena and notes*, in  
*Patres Apostolici*, vol I (as above)

Schaff, Philip, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles  
(third ed., New York, Funk and Wagnells,  
1890) Contains, besides text and trans-  
lation of Didache and parallel sec-  
tions of other documents, a very full  
introduction, notes, and complete  
bibliography up to time published.

Muilenburg, James, The Literary Relations of the  
Epistle of Barnabas and the Teach-  
ing of the Twelve Apostles  
(Marburg, 1929)



Goodspeed, Edgar J., A History of Early Christian Literature (U. of Chicago Press, 1941)

Barnett, Albert E., Paul Becomes a Literary Influence (U. of Chicago Press, 1941)  
Especially useful for checking  
alleged Pauline references in Didache

Gavin, Frank, The Eucharist in East and West, essay in Liturgy and Worship, edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, pp. 78-129 (New York, MacMillan, 1932)

Parsons, Edward Lambe, and Jones, Bayard Hale, The American Prayer Book, its Origins and Principles (New York, Scribners', 1937)

Essays in A New Commentary on Holy Scripture including the Apocrypha, ed. by Charles Gore, H. L. Goudge, and Alfred Guillaume (New York, MacMillan, 1936), as follows,

Oesterley, W. O. E., The Religious Background of the N.T. in Jewish Thought, Part III, pp. 9-21.

Harris, Charles, The N.T. and the Catholic Creeds, part III, pp. 378-384.

Bicknell, E. J., The Acts of the Apostles, Part III, pp. 320-378.

Scott, Ernest Findlay, The Literature of the New Testament, (Columbia University Press, 1936)

Robertson, James C., History of the Christian Church, revised ed. (New York, 1874)  
Information about the Jewish Christian Church and Ebionism drawn from Vol. I.

Bethune-Baker, J. F., An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine, third ed. (London, Methuen, 1923)  
Information on Ebionism and Dynamic Monarchianism.

Thayer, J. H., A Greek-English Lexicon of the N.T. (New York, Harpers', 1887) Articles on and .















GTU Library



3 2400 00687 2497

GTU LIBRARY

LIBRARY USE ONLY

